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CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

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The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

ICELANDIC SAGAS.

ICELANDIC SAGAS,

AND OTHER HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SETTLEMENTS AND DESCENTS OF THE NORTHMEN ON

THE BRITISH ISLES.

VOL. III.

THE ORKNEYINGERS' SAGA,

WITH APPENDICES, &c.

TRANSLATED BY

SIR G. W. DASENT, D.C.L.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

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THE ORKNEYINGERS' SAGA.

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

Shetland, the Orkneys, and Caithness.

The two groups of islands, in which the events narrated in the Orkneyingers' Saga for the most part happened, are widely different in their geographical confirmation. While the Orkneys lie like Cyclades round Hrossey or the Mainland, and are tolerably equal in size and shape, Shetland may be said to be altogether overpowered by its Mainland, which is larger than all the other islands put together, only two or three of which are of any importance. Added to this the Orkneys are, with the exception of a part of Hoy, "the tall island," generally flat; and the hills even in Hrossey rarely rise to any great elevation. When we have named Wideford Hill, the Keely Long Hills, the Ward Hill of Orfir, and the uplands of Rowsay, we have almost exhausted the hills of Orkney. In Shetland, on the other hand, the Mainland is full of high hills and headlands culminating in North Mavin at the extreme north-west of the island in Rona's Hill. Between the two groups politically united in the days described in the Orkneyingers' Saga, but thus physically distinct, lies the waste of waters called Sumburgh Roost in modern times, and "*Dynraust*," or *Dynröst*, that is the "thundering, roaring roost" by the Northmen who saw in its wild waves and rushing tides an apt occasion for the name. In the midst of this Race lies the Fair Isle, the *Friðarey* of the Saga, an isle shunned by travellers and steamers at the present time, and memorable in the story of the Armada for Spanish shipwrecks, but not so inhospitable in older days when its bays and creeks afforded frequent shelter to the small craft in which the Northmen ran from one

group of islands to the other. There is probably no part of the British Isles which now plays a less part and is more rarely heard of than the Fair Isle or Fair Hill as it is sometimes incorrectly called, but there was certainly none which in the time of earl Rognvald-Kali was more conspicuous in Orkney story. Then *Friðarey* formed the point on which the earl's operations against the Orkneys turned, and it was on Friðarey that the beacons were to have been lighted which were to warn earl Paul and his adherents that mischief was threatening them from Shetland. The Fair Isle, therefore, forms in the Saga a geographical link between the two groups of Orkney and Shetland, and we can hardly understand the story unless we keep the position of *Friðarey* on the map steadily in view.

Having thus roughly sketched in outline the two groups and their connecting link, let us enter more fully into the geographical description of the two groups themselves, and let us begin with Shetland, as the group which the Northmen first made as they ran over from Norway, and which we may be sure was known to their vikings and sea-rovers before the more westerly group.

Whatever may be the case with the name of Orkney, it is certain that the name which Shetland bore before the Northmen called it *Hjaltland* or *Hjaltaland* is lost. Some, indeed, have thought with Munch that these islands never had any fixed population before the Northmen, except those Papæ or Irish Anchorites and Hermits, whose cells are found on all the islands of the west as far as Iceland. But it is clear that this view is unfounded. Not to mention the existence in Shetland of those burghs or castles, of which that on the isle of Moussa alone remains in something like its full proportions, the underground dwellings and "weems" in which the Shetland as well as the Orkney Isles abound afford evidence to prove that both groups of islands were inhabited in early times by one, and probably two distinct

races, to one of which the subterranean earth dwellings and underground weems are to be assigned, while to the other and more advanced race the burghs and castles, which tower above the soil like Moussa, are due. What these races were, whether the first which dwelt underground, in what the Icelandic Sagas call "*jarð-húsa*," were Esquimaux of Turanian race, while the burghs, or castles, or Picts' houses, are the handiwork of that mysterious race of Picts so long the terror of British antiquaries, may be matter of doubt. But certain it is, from the evidence of our eyes, that both the dwellers in the earthhouses and weems and the builders of the burghs existed long before the arrival of the Northmen. How those races perished and passed away is also a matter of which we are in complete ignorance. It would seem from the silence of the Sagas, and still more perhaps from the fact that the anchorites referred to only chose the waste places of the earth for their ascetic abodes, that the Northmen really found those islands empty and desolate, and that it was not before their swords that the ancient races vanished away. If so this only throws these questions further up the stream of time. Who were the races who built these subterranean dwellings and these towering burghs? By what name did they call the country? And how did they vanish, leaving no trace of their nationality behind?

As soon as the Northmen came they gave the new-found land a name, and they called it "*Hjaltaland*," or "*Hjaltland*," from "*Hjalt*," the knob or guard of the hilt of a sword. It is idle to ask why the name was given, for the Northmen, as Munch well says, gave names to places from the most trivial accidents; as when Auda, the Deeply-wealthy, who passed from Scotland to Iceland by way of Shetland, called a headland or "ness" "Kambsnes," or Combness, because she had lost her comb there. In the same way Shetland

may have been called "Hjaltland," or "Hjaltaland because some sea-rover lost the pommel of his sword there. It is easier to show how the modern Shetland—not Zetland, which is a barbarous distortion—arose out of the ancient Hjaltland. First of all the pronunciation of the word went over in Norway itself to Hjeltland and Hjetland; the inhabitants of Shetland were called by their Norwegian cousins, "Hjelter" instead of Hjalter; and even at this day we have the authority of Munch for saying that boats built in Norway for sale in Shetland are called "Hjeltebaade," while the northern entrance to Bergen Sound, the point for which ships from Shetland usually steered, is still called "Hjeltefjord." At the same time, as the pronunciation of "Hj" in many Norwegian dialects is very nearly "Sh" or "Sch," the name of the group must have sounded to Scotch and English ears as "Shatland" or "Shetland," and thus "Hjaltaland" or "Hjeltland," written phonetically, would have become Shatland or Shetland, and so passed into legal deeds and documents. Just in the same way the supposed name of the Orkney Island, "*Hjálpandisey*," was turned into "Shapandsey," "Shapensey," and "Shapinsay." It can also be shown that this change of name occurred early, for in a deed of the year 1289, given in Rymer's Fœdera, I. 2. p. 706, we find the name of Thorvaldus de Shetland, and in a letter of the year 1319, in the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. I., and also printed in the Diplomatarium Norwegicum, II. No. 114, the form "Syettelandia" occurs. In the same way the ponies which come from Shetland are called "Shelties," which is only another form of the word "Hjelte" or "Hjalte," and means "Shetlander," just in the same way, as Munch well observes, Norwegian horses are called "Norbagger," that is, "Norwegians," and horses from Arabia "Arabs." In another point of view the form "Sheltie" is curious as retaining the "l" of the original name, which is thus

preserved in common speech, though it has dropped out of the name of the country itself.

Passing from the common appellation of the whole group of islands to each in particular, we find the principal islands mentioned in our Saga, or in old deeds and documents to be the following :—*Meginland*, Mainland, *Jala*, or *Ála*, the modern Yell; *Örnist* or *Örmstr*, the modern Unst; *Fetilar* or *Fœtilör*, the modern Fetlar; *Hvalsey*, the modern Whalesay; *Nös*, the modern Noss; *Brúsey*, the modern Bressay; *Mosey* or *Morsey*, the modern Moussa; two called *Papey*, the big and the little; *Glumsey*; *Fugley*, the modern Foula; and *Friðarey*, the modern Fair Isle or Fair Hill.

Of these after the Mainland, the ancient *Meginland*, *Jala* is often named as well as *Jalasund* or *Álasund*, the modern Yell Sound, which arose out of the ancient name by a very natural corruption. Munch has pointed out that as the form "Jala" occurs in a list of islands and firths given in Skálda, and printed in the Ann. for North. Archæol. 1846, p. 86, it is probably the true form, and not, Ála, in both of which the final *-a* is another of those old indeclinable endings in *-a* which also occur in "Gula" and "Aga," and must not be confounded with the feminine ending *-a* which forms *u* in the genitive. The Saga, p. 107, speaks of *Álasund*, and not *Jalasund*, on the authority of a good MS., 325. As to the original meaning of the word we have no information, but any one who has lain in Yell Sound and seen the rush of its tideway and heard the roaring which it makes both in flood and ebb, will acknowledge that the modern "yell" is very suggestive of the character of its waters. It was in *Álasund* that earl Paul seized the ships of his rival earl Rognvald, Tr. p. 114.

We next come to *Örnist*, or "*Onyst*," or "*Örmstr*," as our text of the Saga gives it, p. 93. This island is the modern Unst. In the list given in Skálda the form "Ormstr" occurs. While Munch decides for the form

Örnist, which he thinks may be derived from the Eagles Örn, which may build in the high cliffs of Unst, the Saga, as well as Skálda, speak for *Örmstr.* Unst is mentioned in the Saga, and it is remarkable that several of the cures at the shrine of St. Magnus were worked on afflicted persons who came from this island. In this island lies Haroldswick, the ancient *Haraldsvík,* said to have been called after Harold Fairhair, who lay there on his expedition to the Hebrides. If he lay there at all, it is more likely that he lay in Baltasound, which forms a splendid harbour. Ballastead, *Ballastaðir,* is mentioned in the Saga, p. 93, in the account of the miracles of earl Magnus; but as the modern name of the "sound" is Baltasound it is not unlikely that the true reading should be *Baltastaðir.*

Fætilör, the modern Fetlar, occurs in the list from the Skálda, but the short Saga of St. Magnus reads "*Fetilar,*" as we have corrected the false reading "*Færeyjum,*" of the Cod. Flat. Saga, p. 91. Munch thinks the name is derived from fót, leg or foot, and that the "lör" of the ending should be "lær," a thigh, in which case the name might come from a fanciful resemblance in the shape of the island to a human thigh.

Passing over the minor islands, we come to *Brúsey* or Brúsi's island, the modern representative of which is the modern Bressay, which helps to make the magnificent harbour of Lerwick off the Mainland. It perhaps takes its name from Brúsi, one of the earlier Orkney earls, and earl Rognvald's father.

The two islands called Papa Stour and Papa Little recall the anchorites, who have left evidence of their ancient occupation of them in those names. Papa Stour means the big Papa, as Papa Little means the small Papa. In the Icelandic they would be *Papey Stora* and *Papey Littla.*

The Mainland of Shetland though preponderating in size over all the other islands, plays no such part in the

Orkneyingers' Saga as that assumed by Hrossey of the Mainland of Orkney. That was the abode of mighty earls who had their seats at various times in different parts of the island. But the Mainland of Shetland, so far as the Orkney Saga is concerned, seems rather to have been used by those great chiefs as a house of call or a harbour of refuge. So it was that Harold Fairhair and a long line of kings of his race who followed him steered for Shetland on their voyages west, and after laying in Bressay Sound off the modern Lerwick, or in some other convenient haven for a while, passed on to conquest or piracy further west. The case was nearly the same with the Orkney earls and with the chiefs and bishops who passed west from Norway. When earl Rognvald-Kali, the kinsman of Saint Magnus set out on his expeditions against earl Paul Hacon's son, he twice made Shetland his halting place, once to return inglorious to his politic father's house, and once again to pass on victorious to the Orkneys. So again when earl Paul had been seized and carried off, and when earl Rognvald at the height of his power resolved on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he sailed for Shetland from Norway in his two ships Help and Arrow and lost them both in the breakers of Gullberwick near the modern Lerwick. (Tr. p. 154, 155.) The loss of his ships delayed him long in Shetland. The Saga expressly says that "the earl stayed very long in Shetland" that autumn, and it was then that the romantic episode occurred which is described in the Story of Earl Rognvald.

On other occasions when we hear of any of the earls going to Shetland it is only to stay there for a comparatively short time, and never with a view to a fixed above. It follows from this that but very few Shetland names are mentioned in the Saga even on the Mainland, and though we can in most cases restore the old Norse names from their modern equivalents, we can but rarely point to the old names themselves in the pages of the

Saga. One of these cases in which we can fix the locality of the ancient name with certainty is *Borgarfjörðr* now Burrafirth on the Mainland, of which we read at p. 75 of our Saga, Tr. p. 76, that while earl Hacon and earl Magnus held the joint wardship of the land, they made an expedition to Shetland and put to death Thorbjorn, a nobleman in "Burrafirth." On a holm near the "voe" stand the ruins of the "Borg" or "Burgh" which gave a name to the Firth, which seems to have been a castle of the same kind as that on the isle of Moussa, and if so erected long before the arrival of the Northmen in Shetland.[1] Munch supposes that it was in this castle that the noble Thorbjorn lived when he was cut off about the year 1100 by the cousins, and that from its strength he must have made a long resistance. But the Saga simply says that the two earls went against him together and put him to death.

Another place to which we can assign its ancient name is Gulberwick, not far from Lerwick, which is a town of comparatively modern origin. This, beyond doubt, is the *Gullberuvík* of the Saga mentioned in p. 151 as the place where, at the house of a man named Einar, earl Rognvald-Kali and twelve of his men were hospitably received after his shipwreck.

But perhaps the most interesting place in all Shetland is the burgh of Moussa which lies near Sandwick (*Sandvík*) in the southern part of the Shetland Main. Here, on a little island, stands the "Burgh" of which we have already spoken, and the only one of those ancient castles which exists in tolerable preservation. It was famous for its strength before the period of

[1] It is described in Hibbert's book on Shetland, p. 544, as built of stones, without cement. In the walls, which are thirteen feet thick, are eleven small round rooms, each five feet in diameter, with a separate entrance from the inner court, which is 31 feet in diameter. This "burgh" seems to have differed from that at Moussa in having single, and not double walls.

which the Saga treats, for in the Egils Saga, ch. 32 and 33, we read that about the year 900 Björn the freeman from Aurland in Sogn, in Norway, who had run away with Thora Hladhand, the sister of Thorir, a hersir or baron from the district called the Firths, and was on his voyage with her to Iceland, suffered shipwreck in Shetland, and took refuge in this castle while his ship was being repaired. In that Saga it is called *Morseyjarborg* or *Moseyjarborg*, a name which we find in our Saga, p. 189, where oddly enough, we find another pair of fugitive lovers taking shelter in its strong walls. In the year 1153 Erlend the young, a noble chief, but not, as some have supposed, the young earl of that name, carried off, or rather ran off with earl Harold Maddadson's mother Margaret, who is described as rather a forward woman. The pair fled from the wrath of the earl and shut themselves up in the burgh on Moussa, where they were besieged for some time by earl Harold, until peace was made between him and them, and Erlend was allowed to marry the widow of Maddad who had been earl of Athole.

These are almost the only places which can be identified in Shetland, and which are mentioned in the Saga. All the names in these islands are corruptions of old Norse names as Scalloway and Thingwall, which are clearly the old "*Skálavágr*" and "*þingvöll.*" The latter was the place where the solemn assemblies of the freeman were held, as was invariably the case in early Northern times, under the free and open air of heaven; while the former was the bay or "voe" on which the booths and huts were erected for the convenience and shelter of those who attended the assemblies, and which temporary shelter gradually grew into a village and a town. In later times when the fashion of open-air Parliaments went out, Scalloway became the place of meeting, and there in a building the later assemblies were held. These and many other old names have been identified

by Munch in his exhaustive essays on this subject in the Annals for Northern Archæology; but our purpose here is with the names and places actually mentioned in the Saga. Before we pass on from Shetland to the Fair Isle, across Sumburgh Roost, which takes its name from Sumburgh, the southernmost point of the island, let us pause to remark that as the troubled sea between Shetland and Orkney was called "*Dynröst*" (Saga, p. 192), and as the modern name for the southernmost parish of the Shetland mainland is Dunrossness, it is plain that this modern application is only a distortion of "*Dynrastarnes*," the first part of which is the genitive of "*Dynröst*." *Dynrastarnes* does not occur in the text of the Saga, but in the new matter printed in this edition we find both *Dynrastar-höfdi* and *Dynrastar-vágr*, Dynröst-head and Dynrost-voe, as the old names for the headland now called Sumburgh Head and the voe beneath it, out of which earl Rognvald rowed in disguise with the poor fisherman to fish at the very edge of the dangerous race (pp. 155–7). The word "Sumburgh," is to be found in the old Norse "*Svínborg*" and in earlier deeds is called not "Sumburgh" but "Swynburgh." The "Fitful Head," separated from its sister headland by Quendal Bay, which all readers of the "Pirate" know, has unfortunately nothing to do with the capricious nature of the winds, but is derived, as Munch has shown, from the old "*Fitfuglahöfði*," that is, the head covered with sea-foul, or "web-footed birds," "*fitfuglar*," which may still be seen sitting in myriads on the ledges of the noble promontory which rises more than 900 feet into the air.

From all that we have said of Shetland, it will be seen that to the Orkneyingers it was always more or less a foreign land. The one group seems to have clung more closely to Norway, and to have been far more dependent on that country than the other. We hear little there of risings against the power of the kings

of Norway, and Norwegians seem always to have been welcome in Shetland, as may be seen by the way in which Rognvald-Kali, a pure Norwegian on his father's side, was welcomed on his expeditions against Orkney, and from the dread which earl Paul had of landing and fighting out his quarrel with his rival, even after he had seized his ships in Yell Sound. The Saga, p. 114, expressly says that the reason why earl Paul would not land was that he put no trust in the Shetlanders, and the best proof that his power over these islands was merely nominal is to be found in the fact that earl Rognvald stayed there the whole summer after the loss of his ships, and went back to Norway with his followers in trading ships in the autumn, only to return to Shetland the summer after on a more successful expedition. It is evident, therefore, that geographically as well as politically the Shetlanders were more dependent on Norway. Lying north-east and not far from the Faroes, both their politics and position were Norwegian, while the Orkneys, lying more to the west and farther from the mother country of the first settlers, were more independent, and besides politically attracted towards Scotland and the British Isles. Much, no doubt, was due to the seat of rule being in the Orkneys, from which the earls ruled Shetland as a dependency, but still more was owing to the geographical position of the group of isles, and to the temper of the people, which in Shetland remained more purely Norse than the inhabitants of the sister group. At last, in the days of king Sverrir, at the end of the 12th century, in the year 1194, just at the period when the Orkneyingers' Saga ends, Shetland was separated by that king altogether from Orkney, and associated, for the purposes of government, with the Faroe islands, and thus the earls of Orkney lost for some years the rights of lordship and the power of taxation which they had so long held over Shetland as vassals of the Kings of Norway. pp. 231, 235–6.

We now leave Shetland, and pass on our way to the Orkneys, stopping for a while at the Fair Isle or Fairhill, the *Friðarey* of the Saga, in which, at one period, the little island became suddenly famous. The position of the Fair Isle midway between Orkney and Shetland made it a very important place when the power of earl Paul Hacon's son was threatened by the expeditions of Rognvald-Kali, who claimed to be one of the rightful earls of the Orkneys, not only because of the grant which King Harold Gilli had made to him, but because he was the son of the sister of the saint, earl Magnus, and thus came into the land strong both from a political and a religious point of view. In those days the proverb was as true as it has ever been before and since, "forewarned is forearmed." It was everything to earl Paul to know when earl Rognvald, whom he knew had arrived among the untrusty Shetlanders, would start on his expedition against the Orkneys. For this purpose, as our Saga informs us, p. 115, a system of beacons was established, the first of which was to be on the Fair Isle, a second on *Rínansey*, or North Ronaldsay, a third on Sanday, a fourth on Westray, and a fifth on Rowsay. But all the others rested on the first, so that the beacon on the Fair Isle was the most important of all. These several beacons were entrusted to the care of earl Paul's most faithful adherents, and not the least interesting portion of the Saga is that which describes how this system of beacons was turned to the gain, instead of the harm of earl Rognvald, by the good counsel of his father, the politic Kol. At that time the chief householder on the Fair Isle was Dagfinn Hlodver's son, described at p. 122 of the Saga as "a brisk stirring man." So long as he had charge of the beacon it was sure to be lighted at the first approach of an enemy. But at p. 124 foll. we are informed how even the wary Dagfinn was deceived by the guile of Kol into lighting the beacon on a false alarm; how the warn-

ing lights spread from isle to isle, and earl Paul's host flocked together, only to find themselves gathered for no purpose; and at last how quarrels and recriminations arose, in the course of which Dagfinn was slain. After that false alarm a man named Eric succeeded to the care of the beacon on the Fair Isle, who, not so wary as Dagfinn, was beguiled into handing over the beacon to the care of Uni, a confederate of Kol, who took care to drench it so thoroughly with water that it would not catch fire when earl Rognvald really started with his expedition (p. 127). The result was that no beacons were lighted on the other islands, and earl Rognvald established himself in Westray, whither his friends and kinsmen soon flocked to him in sufficient numbers to enable him to hold his own against earl Paul. After this sudden blaze, like that of its own beacon, the Fair Isle, or *Friðarey*, passes out of the story, and is scarcely mentioned again, except at p. 195, when Sweyn Asleif's son bore up for it when he and earl Erlend the young were caught and parted in Sumburgh Roost in such a violent storm that each gave the other up as lost.

From the Fair Isle we pass on to *Rínansey* or North Ronaldsay, the first of the Orkney islands. But before we proceed farther, let us, as we have given the etymology of the name Shetland, spend a little time in the consideration of the name Orkney. If we can believe that Shetland was a nameless land till the Northmen came and called it after the pommel of a sword, the same cannot be said of the Orkneys, which were already called Orcades by Pliny the elder in his Natural History, I. 4. ch. 10., and Juvenal in his second Satire, II. 161,[1] quotations which show that

[1] The lines in Juvenal, II. 159—161—

"Arma quidem ultra
Littora Juvernæ promovimus,
et modo captas
Orcadas, ac minimâ contentos
nocte Britannos,"

were written after A.D. 84, when Agricola sailed round Britain and discovered the Orkneys. They are also important as marking the quantity Orcades with a short penultimate like Strophades, Pleiades, and Symplegades.

the name did not arise with the Northmen who came more than 700 years after Pliny, but that it is only their adaptation of the old Celtic name which the islands received from their earliest inhabitants. The Irish and Gaelic tribes called the group "*Innsi'h Orcc,*" or *Innish Orc,* that is the Ork isles; the Northmen *Orkn-eyjar,* that is the Orkn-isles, where *Orkn-* seems to be a contraction of *Orkan,* for the Anglo-Saxons called the group *Orcan-ig,* where "an" is only a derivative ending, and has nothing to do with the root. That root is "Ork" or "Orc," and, as we must look to the Celtic tribes for the first application of the term to the Orkneys, we must see what "Orc" means in those dialects. Now "Orc" in Gaelic means a smaller sort of whale, a grampus or bottle-nose whale, the *Delphinus orca* of Linnæus, which is still found in large shoals, in the seas round Orkney, Shetland, and Faroe. Pliny himself calls this kind of whale "orca," and when Ptolemy calls a promontory, supposed to be Dunnet Head in Caithness opposite the Orkneys, "Tarvedum or Orcas," we recognise with Munch in the first word the Gaelic "Tarbat,"[1] and in the second the singular of Orcades. So, too, this primæval or aboriginal "*Ork*" may be seen in the "*Orkahaugr*" or Orkahow of the Saga, p. 187; Tr. 190. It was the name which the Northmen gave to the huge barrow, now called the Maes Howe, which stands near "the Stones of Stennes," and they gave it a name from the largest animal which they knew on land or in the sea; much in the same way as the Americans speak in modern times of "Mammoth" caves and trees to express natural objects of huge size.

[1] The meaning of this word is a portage, or place where boats and ships are dragged across a narrow isthmus from sea to sea. Any one acquainted with Scotland, will recall several Tarbats, or Tarbets, as for instance, that across the neck of the Mull of Cantire, that at the head of Loch Lomond, where a narrow neck of land separates it from Loch Long, and another on the east coast in the Dornoch Firth.

There can be no room for doubt then that in the words "*Orkneyjar*" and "Orkney" we have a Celtic derivative, and that the islands were so called from the shoals of a particular kind of whale which in earlier times were much more numerous than they are at present. The Northmen, as was their common practice, took the ancient name of the islands as they found it adopted by the Anglo-Saxons. They turned the "Orc" of the Celts into Orkn and added "ey," their word for an island, to the Celtic appellation.

As they had adopted the Celtic term for the whole group they proceeded in the same way with each island. When it had what they called *Örnefni*, that is, an old original received name of its own, they adopted it, merely putting "ey" after it to mark its insular character. In cases where an island had no old name of its own, or when its ancient appellation was unknown, they gave it a new one of their own sometimes descriptive of its natural features, and sometimes taken from the name of a person. In process of time the termination "ey" in the names of each of the islands has been transformed into *ay* or *a*; thus, "Shapinsay" or "Shapinsa," while certain combinations of letters are slurred over in utterance; "alp" or "olp" or "alb" in particular have lost their "l," so that the old *Skálpeið*, the neck or isthmus between Kirkwall and Scapa Bay, is now pronounced Scapa, and *Kolbeinsey* has become Copinsay and Cobesa. At the same time the same change has taken place with regard to names beginning with Hj, as we have already remarked as being the origin of the name "Shetland." Thus "*Hjálpandisey*," which it is conjectured is the old form of one of the Orkney isles, has become Shapinsay, and the rule holds good in other cases. But as this perversion of the ending of the names of each isle has given rise to two forms in *ay* and *a*, both plainly derived from the old Norse "*ey*," it was

proposed by Munch in his essay on this subject in the Annals for Northern Archæology for 1852, to revert to the old form "ey;" and in fact this change had already been made, even before that learned historian suggested it, on the excellent charts of the Orkneys, published by the late Captain Thomas, R.N., under the direction of the Admiralty. We cannot learn, however, that this suggestion has been accepted by the inhabitants of the islands themselves, and we have therefore in general adhered to the more usually received form.

After these introductory remarks let us give a list of the Orkney isles as we find them mentioned in the Saga with their ancient names, and then direct our attention to each island in its turn, beginning from the North.

The names are North Ronaldsay, *Rínansey;* Sanday, *Sandey;* Papa Westray, *Papey Meiri;* Westray, *Vestrey;* Stronsay, *Strjónsey;* Papa Stronsay, *Papey Minni;* Egilsay or Egelsha, *Egilsey;* Rowsay, *Hrólfsey;* Mainland, *Hrossey;* Eynhallow, *Eyinhelga;* Weir, *Vigr;* Gairsay, *Gareksey;* Damsay, *Daminsey;* Eller or Hellier Holm, *Hellisey;* Burray, *Borgarey;* Græmsay, *Grímsey;* Hoy with Walls, *Háey* with *Vágar* or *Vágaland;* South Ronaldsay, *Rögnvaldsey;* Svonay, *Svíney;* Stromay or Stroma, *Straumey,* and the Pentland Skerries, *Pèttland-sker.* Two of the larger islands, Eday, *Eiðey,* and Shapinsay, *Hjálpandisey,* together with many smaller ones, are not mentioned in the Saga.

In this list there are some which, at the very first sight, betray a Celtic and a Christian origin. Just as in the "Orkn" or "Ork" of the Orkneys we perceive a Celtic root, so is a Celtic and a religious appellation as plainly discernible in *Papey,* the name given to two islands. We have seen that the Irish anchorites of St. Columba's rule had left traces of their cells and ascetic life in Shetland and Iceland. These anchorites the

Northmen believed to have been "Westmen" or Irishmen.[1] Thus there were Papar or anchorites in Orkney and Shetland, where islands were named after them, and even farms such as *Papuli* or *Papýli*, now Paplay. When the heathen Northmen came to disturb them in their hermitages these anchorites vanished before them, leaving behind them their cells and churches, as the Dwarfie Stone on Hoy, and the old church on Egilsay. In Iceland we are told they left behind them books and staves and rings, and Ari Fróði in his Islendíngabók expressly says of Iceland, when it was discovered by his countrymen, "Then there "were here Christian men, those whom the Northmen "call Papa; but afterwards they went away for that they "would not be here with heathen men, and they left "behind them Irish books" (that is manuscripts), and "staves and rings, from that it might be known that they "were Irishmen." Besides this we know from Dicuil's Treatise *De Mensurâ Orbis*, that about the year 795 several priests had resided in Iceland from the 1st of February to the 1st of August. What happened in Iceland, Faroe, and Shetland had more frequently happened in the Orkneys, and we may be sure, as indeed the names *Papey* and *Papýli* sufficiently prove, that this group of isles, so long as they were waste, in what may be supposed to be the interval between the coming of the Northmen and the disappearance of the earlier races, was a favourite resort for Irish anchorites of St. Columba's rule.

And here let us remark that the same problem remains to be solved in Orkney that was left unsolved in Shetland. The testimony of the soil shows that this group of islands was inhabited in early times by races which burrowed in the earth in weems and Picts' houses and erected stately burghs like that at Moussa. But whoever they were and in whatever way they disap-

[1] See Munch's essay in the Annals; and Introduction to Burnt Njal, Edinburgh, 1861.

peared, it is certain that at one time these isles were inhabited by races which possessed considerable skill in construction, and in the case of the burgh-dwellers had made great advances to civilisation.

Returning to the traces of Celtic influence in the names of the Orkneys, we find it in *Rínansey*, *Rinarsey*, or *Ronansey*, all ancient names for North Ronaldsay. This is one of the first islands mentioned in the Saga, in the time of Turf-Einar the fourth Orkney earl, and there can be little doubt that it took its name from St. Ninian whom the Scots also called Ringan and Ronan. In later times *Rínansey* or *Ronansey* was perverted into Ronaldsay, and as there was another Ronaldsay in the south of the group, it became necessary to distinguish one as North, and the other as South Ronaldsay; but originally the name of the northern island was *Rínansey* after the saint, and that of the southern Ronaldsey after one of the earl Rognvalds.[1]

In *Daminsey* we find another name derived from St. Damian; and in the case of *Egilsey*, though it seems thoroughly Norse at first sight, and to have come from the well-known Norse name Egill, and to be the island of Egill, Munch has endeavoured to show that the name is derived from the ancient church which still stands with its round tower on the little island. This church has indeed been a puzzle to ecclesiastical antiquaries. While some have thought it so like the Irish churches of the same supposed age and character that it seems to them to have been transported from Ireland; others like Sir Henry Dryden have refused to see in it a building earlier than the 12th century. According to the first view, *Egilsey* would be called not from Egill but from the Irish *ecclais* or the Welsh *eglws*, a church, and was so named

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[1] Great confusion has arisen between these two islands from the custom in MSS. of using the abreviation *R-ey* for both of them. This abreviation when expanded under the pen of a careless scribe often turned *Rinansey* into *Rögnvaldsey*, and *vice versâ*.

by the Northmen because they found the venerable church standing on the island when they first arrived in the Orkney waters. In after times, the origin of the name was forgotten, though the church still stood, memorable for the martyrdom of St. Magnus which happened hard by, and *Egilsey* came to be looked on as the island of Egill. But in the midst of this controversy one fact remains that there was a church on *Egilsey* when St. Magnus was slain in the year 1116, and from this church whether it were that now existing or not the name of the island may have been derived. If this be so in the collective name of *Orkney* itself, as well as in the particular names, *Papey*, *Papýli*, *Rínansey*, *Daminsey*, and *Egilsey*, we have unmistakeable evidence of Celtic origin.[1]

After these general remarks we return to our list of islands beginning from the north. And first of North Ronaldsay, *Rínansey*, a low flat island, the northernmost of the group and lying well to the east. This is one of the earliest of all the islands to be mentioned in the Saga, and in the old edition which is very imperfect in the beginning, it is the first of all mentioned. As it is, the Mainland, *Hrossey*, is the first named at p. 6 of this edition of the Saga, where it is said that earl Hallad, the do-nothing son of earl Rognvald of Mœren, sate down in Hrossey while the Vikings harried his realm. But after earl Hallad came Turf-Einar, who thus mentions *Rínansey* after his battle with Halfdan Longlegs: "I know not what I see in Rínansey, some-" times it lifts itself up, but sometimes it lays itself " down; that is either a bird or a man, and we will " go to it."—P. 8. The battle itself, which ended in Halfdan's disastrous defeat and death, probably took place in the firth between Sanday and North Ronaldsay,

[1] It is remarkable that the Horæ for the Feast of St. Magnus (p. 311) as found in the Aberdeen Breviary contain the form *Eglissei* and not *Egilssei*, as though the name of the isle on which the Saint was martyred were derived from a church and not from Egil.

and from Toftsness on the former island it would be possible for a sharp-sighted man, as we are told earl Einar was, to see across to the opposite island. But we are not reduced to this supposition, as he might well have been on board his ship the morning after the battle when the search for his routed enemies began. At the present time, North Ronaldsay with its beautiful lighthouse and dangerous reefs is shunned by voyagers, but in the days of the Saga it was easy of approach to the light craft of the islanders, and was a place of importance. There it was, in the days of earl Paul, that the second beacon was to be lighted on the approach of earl Rognvald-Kali, and Thorstein Ragna's son was to have charge of it (p. 115). His mother was the out-spoken Ragna, who at page 121 foll., entertained earl Paul at a banquet in her house on the island, and gave him such offence by her bold advice. After earl Paul was carried off by Sweyn Asleif's son, the very man whom the wise widow advised the earl to make his friend, Ragna and her son became firm friends of earl Rognvald-Kali. At p. 144, we are told, how when Hall, the son of Thorarin Broadpaunch came from Iceland to spend the winter with Ragna and her son, and was ill at ease, and wished to be passed on to the earl's court, Ragna and her son did their best to further his wishes, at first without success. The earl had warriors enough, and said, "No, to neighbour of the brawn." But Ragna was not a woman to be put off, for the Saga goes on to tell us that she provoked the earl's satire by paying him a visit in a new fashioned head dress. After that they began to talk, and the end was that Ragna got her way, and Hall was long afterwards with earl Rognvald, with whom, as they were both excellent skalds, he made what the Icelanders called the Old Key to Metres.

We next come to *Vestrey*, Westray, the Western isle, about the Norse derivation of which there can be no

doubt. It and the West Firth, *Vestfjörðr*, that is, the troubled strait between it and Rowsay, are often mentioned in the Saga. There, at Rapness, *Hreppisnes*, p. 89, lived Kugi, a powerful man, and an adherent of earl Paul, while at *Höfn* lived Helgi, who was inclined to earl Rognvald; for the earl came to his house when he got a fair wind from Shetland, while Kugi was thrown into fetters and badly beaten by the earl's men (p. 127 fol.) Rapness is also mentioned at p. 209 as the place where earl Rognvald met John Wing when he had carried off Sweyn Aslief's son Olaf. It is called also the "Bull" of Rapness, that is, the "ból" or farm of Rapness, and lies on the south-east side of the island, while Höfn, that is, the "Haven," was on the north-east side, where the modern Pier o' Wall lies. Close by are the "Links," the Norse "*lykkjur*," where a number of old interments, described in Wilson's Archæology, pp. 552–555, were discovered in 1849. Not far from Pier o' Wall, or the ancient Höfn, called also the thorpe or village, lies Trenaby, from which Mr. Balfour of Balfour takes one of his territorial titles. On the west of the island, not far from the Noup Head, the Icelandic *Gnúpr*, stands Noltland Castle, also owned by Mr. Balfour. This, in John Ben's description of Orkney in 1529, is described as "excellentissima "arx sive castellum sed nondum tamen adhuc com-"pleta." In this unfinished state it has remained ever since, with its walls of immense thickness, its two round towers, and its arched portal. The name of the place, "Noltland" or "Nowtland," seems plainly derived from the Norse *Nautaland*, that is, "neat" or "cattle land." It was on the West Firth, between Westray and Rowsay, that Waltheof Olaf's son was lost in a ten-oared boat in the year 1135, when on his way to a yule feast given by earl Paul at Orfir. He was brother of the powerful and unruly Sweyn Asleif's son, with whose adventures the last part of our Saga

is full. At p. 116 will be found an account of Waltheof's loss. There is a farm called Rackwick on the north-east of Westray, which has been supposed by some to be the *Rekavík* of the Saga, where Thorliot, the father of Oliver the unruly, lived; but it is certain that the *Rekavík* where that powerful family lived was the other Rackwick in Hoy, for all the relations of Thorliot and Oliver lay in the south, and not in the north isles. At p. 87 of our Saga will be found an account of Thorliot and his kindred, who were in reality rather Scotch than Orkneyingers.

To the north-east of Westray and just opposite to the little harbour of Pier o' Wall or *Höfn*, the thorpe where Helgi lived, and where earl Rognvald-Kali first landed in Orkney, lies *Papey Meiri*, the bigger *Papey*, now called Papa Westray to distinguish it from *Papey Minni*, the lesser *Papey*, now called Papa Stronsay. Both these isles, as we have seen, take their names from the cells of Irish anchorites, and not from any Norse derivatives. As soon as the Orkneys became Christian, shortly after the days of Olaf Tryggvi's son, that is, about the year 1,000, *Papey Meiri* became a holy place, and until the great cathedral in Kirkwall was built it is probable that St. Tredwall's chapel[1] on *Papey Meiri* was considered

[1] So holy was this church considered, that the first reformed minister could scarcely prevent his parishioners from saying their prayers in the ruins before they came to the parish church. St. Tredwall is the Scottish form of St. Triduana, a saint once much revered across the border. She was said to have come from Achaia with Saint Regulus, to Scotland; in the course of her journey her beauty so inflamed a Gaulish chief, that to escape his advances, she cut out her own eyes. After this mutilation, she came to Scotland and died, and was buried at Restalrig near Edinburgh. Many miracles were wrought at her grave, and she was especially sought for diseases and injuries of the eyes. At p. 229 of our Saga will be found a proof of this in the case of Bishop John of Caithness, whom earl Harold Maddad's son, mutilated both in eyes and tongue, who when brought to the shrine of

the holiest spot in all the isles. In the days described by our Saga, St. Tredwall's chapel has an interest as being the burial place of the gallant earl Rognvald Brúsi's son, whose body, after he had been slain on *Papey Minni* or the lesser *Papey* off Stronsay, was brought to St. Tredwall's chapel to be interred. Our Saga, p. 53, foll., tells the story of his death, which for interest and truth may vie with any scene in any Saga.

We now pass by Eday, the ancient name of which is to be restored as *Eiðey*, that is, the island of the *eið* or aith, or isthmus, from the neck or waist of land which joins the two ends of the island together, and along with it its satellites *Kalfr* the Calf, *Færey* the Sheep isle, *Hólmr* the Holm of Farey, and *Grœnuholmr* the Greenholms; for all these are never mentioned in the Saga, though it is easy to restore, as Munch has done, their ancient from their modern names.

Next in order and position is *Sandey*, Sanday, which is often mentioned in the Saga, and lies east of Westray and north-east of Eday. Here it was, off the northern end of the island, which looks on *Rínansey* or North Ronaldsay, that Turf-Einar lay with his ships when he had that engagement with Halfdan Longlegs, the son of the mighty Harold Fairhair, which ended in his defeat and death by immolation to Odin, the God of battles. With regard to the possibility of that sharp-sighted though one-eyed earl being able to see from Sanday as far as *Rínansey*, Munch tells us that it is no more than 6,000 paces from Toftsness in Sanday to Stromness in

St. Tredwall, it is uncertain whether at her chapel in Papey Meiri, or her shrine at Restalrig, recovered both sight and speech. In Norse utterance, St. Triduana or St. Tredwall became *Trollhæna*, pronounced *Trodlhæna*. Barry says, p. 63, that St. Tredwall's chapel in Papey Meiri was built over an old Pict's house; and in all probability, the chapel was in existence as a place of worship, like the church at Egilsay, long before the arrival of the Northmen in the Orkneys.

Rínansey, a distance to which earl Einar's sharp eyes might perhaps have reached; but we have already remarked that, in all probability, the earl was on board his ships when he uttered the words given in the Saga, which besides would seem to have been caused by something seen on land from the water. After the bloody rite of cutting a spread-eagle on the back of the victim with a sword by severing the ribs from the backbone on each side and drawing the lungs out, earl Einar made his men cast a "howe" or cairn over his enemy, and burst out into a song of triumph on having revenged his father, earl Rognvald of Mæren, on the son of the great king Harold. It is probable that, as the battle was fought off Sanday, that the sacrifice to Odin took place on that island, and not on *Rínansey*; and that the cairn of Halfdan Longlegs must be sought for among the many barrows which still exist on Sanday.

In later times Sanday was the abode of a great chief, Thorstein Havard's son, one of earl Paul's most active followers, and when the care of the beacon on *Rínansey* was entrusted to his namesake the son of Ragna,[1] his brother Magnus was to attend to that on Sanday; later on in the Saga earl Rognvald sent for him and his namesake from Sanday, p. 129, that they try to arrange matters between himself and earl Paul. Still farther on in the Saga we read of Sanday and a farm on it called *Völuness* or Valeness, in the account of Swein Asleif's son's flight from earl Harold, when the earl seized his house on Gairsay, p. 206. It was on Sanday that, as the Saga tells us, p. 195, Sweyn Asleif's son and earl Erlend met after they had parted in *Dynröst* or Sumburgh Roost in so violent a storm that each gave up the other

[1] The text of the Saga, p. 111, says that Thorstein Havard's son Gunnis son was to have charge of the beacon on *Rínansey*, but this probably arises out of a confusion between the two Thorstein's, for at p. 121 it is said that Thorstein Ragna's son fired the beacon on *Rínansey*.

as lost. It was in Sanday too that Sweyn Asleif's son forced his kinsman John Wing the younger to fly from *Völuness* in the bitter winter night, because he abused earl Erlend, p. 206.

Next in order is *Strjónsey*, Stronsay, which is frequently mentioned in the Saga. The chief house on it in old times, seems to have been "the Brink," *Brekkar* or *í Brekkum*, where Richard lived, one of Sweyn Asleif's son's kinsmen, of whom we read, p. 130, that he and John Wing of the Uplands in Hoy fell on Thorkell flat or the flayer, to whom earl Paul had given the land in Stronsay which Waltheof Sweyn's brother had owned, and burnt him in it with nine men. Before that Thorkell had lived in Westray with his sons, not much beloved by his neighbours, p. 89. Munch has recognised the old *Hofsness* in the modern Hvipsness on Stronsay where earl Erelend met Sweyn Asleif's son on his return from Norway at the house of Sweyn's brother-in-law, Thorfinn Brúsi's son, who had married his sister Ingigerd, whom Thorbjörn the clerk had repudiated (Saga, p. 187). There the old feud between the young earl and the old Viking, which arose out of the burning of Frakok, was finally arranged, and Sweyn became Erelend's chief adviser. In Rousholmhead or the Red Head of Stronsay, may also be recognised the old name *Rauðholmshöfði*. Off Stronsay, too, lay *Papey Minni*, now Papa Stronsay, where earl Rognvald Brúsi's son was slain.

Shapinsay, which may be restored to *Hjálpandisey*, is, as we have said, not mentioned in the Saga by name, but the modern name of the island is well known to all visitors to Orkney as the principal seat of Mr. Balfour of Trenaby, the owner of this island as well as of so many others in the Orkneys. But close to Ellwick, the ancient *Ellidavík*, on the south side of the island, lies Ellerholm, or Hellierholm, the ancient

Hellisey, where, according to Captain Thomas, quoted by Munch, the cave may still be seen in which the shifty Sweyn Asleif's son hid his boat when escaping from the pursuit of earl Harold Maddad's son (Saga, p. 205). At that time there must have been a monastery on one or other of the islands, for as Sweyn's boat was high and dry in the cave, Sweyn sailed away to Sanday in an old ship of burden belonging to the monks.

We next come to *Egilsey,* of which we have already shown that it possibly derives its name, not from any "Egill" but from the Irish "*ecclais*" or the Welsh "*eglws,*" meaning a church, and was called Church island by the Northmen because, when they first came into the islands, they saw a church standing on it; just as they called Stennis "*Steinsnes*" because of the large circle of stones which they beheld standing on that promontory between the two lakes on the Mainland. Here, at any rate, until the cathedral in Kirkwall was built, the bishops of Orkney seem to have had their residence. That old church was what may be called their peculiar as opposed to the earl's churches at Birsay and Orfir, and St. Olaf's church in Kirkwall, which was the church of the burghers. On various occasions in the Saga when bishop William was wanted, and especially twice at Christmas (Saga, p. 119, 137), when the proper place for a bishop would be at his own church, we find him at Egilsay. On the last of these occasions bishop John of Athole visited bishop William at Egilsay before his interview with earl Rögnvald as the bearer of Margaret's proposals as to the claim of her son Harold to half the Orkneys. This church, therefore, remained the bishop's church, though his cathedral was the Earl's church at Birsay, till the relics of St. Magnus were translated from that church, where he was first buried, to St. Olaf's church in Kirkwall, to be again translated

to the stately minster which the piety of earl Rognvald-Kali reared in obedience to his vow to the honour of his holy kinsman. And there on the island which was called after it still stands the venerable church, a silent witness of so much that has happened in the isles besides the martyrdom of St. Magnus which threw over it an additional sanctity throughout Catholic times. At p. 78 foll. of the Saga will be found an account of the treacherous attack of earl Hacon Paul's son on his cousin Magnus, which ended in the death of the pious earl, who so soon afterwards was revered as the patron saint of the isles.

Next we come to Gairsay, the ancient *Gareksey*, famous in the Saga as the chief abode of the adventurous Sweyn Asleif's son, though he had other farms in Stronsay and Caithness, where on the Scotch mainland he held Duncansby, and the strong castle of Lambaborg close to *Þrasvík*, the modern Freswick. It was on Gairsay that he built himself a house, the drinking hall of which was so long that it could contain eighty retainers. Here it was that, when he was at feud with earl Harold, when the earl had seized his house and wasted his corn and goods, Sweyn fell on him unawares, and sought to burn the house over his head, even though his own wife and children were in it, and it was fortunate for the earl that he was just then away hare hunting (Saga, p. 204). Here too, when the long feud between Harold and himself had burnt itself out and they were reconciled, Sweyn entertained the earl at a great banquet about the year 1171, when the earl advised him to leave off sea roving, and in the words of the proverb, "to drive home with a whole wain." The Saga tells, p. 222, how Sweyn neglected the earl's advice, said he would leave off after one more voyage, set off on a cruise to Dublin and there perished by treachery. After his death his sons parted their father's goods and his hall between them, and built up a wall

which cuts the large room in two.[1] All certain traces of this large drinking hall, which surpassed in size all others in the Orkneys, have now perished, but the name lingers, perhaps, in the farm Langskeal on the south-west side of the island, which may be restored to *Lángskáli*, that is the Long Hall.

On *Vígr*, now Wyre or Weir, lived another great chief, Kolbeinn the Burly, a Norwegian, who, as the Saga tells us, p. 151, built a strong stone castle on it which was known as hard to take. As for Kolbeinn himself he seems to have been a prudent man and to have kept himself, as much as he could, out of strife. He was the friend of Sweyn Asleif's son, his neighbour in Gairsay, and fostered his son Olaf (Saga. p. 209). After Sweyn's death his son Andrew married Kolbein's daughter Frida. At the end of his life he sided with earl Harold Maddad's son, and together with his son Bjarni, called in the Saga both Bjarni Skáld and Bjarni Bishop, was a firm adherent of that earl. By their mother Herbjorg Kolbein's children were descended from earl Paul Thorfinn's son. Some remains of his castle are still to be seen on Weir, where they are pointed out as "Cobbe Row's castle," that is, Kolbein Hruga's Castle. In popular tradition he has become a giant, and his burliness is shown in throwing rocks at churches, after the fashion of the trolls in the popular tales of Norway.

West of Egilsay lies Rowsay, the ancient *Hrólfsey*, often confounded by careless scribes in the MSS. of the Saga with *Hrossey* or the Mainland. After Hoy it is the hilliest of all the islands, and its dark upland moors are seen over the green fields of Gairsay and

[1] This seems to be the meaning of the words (p. 221), "Þeir (his sons "Olaf and Andres) gjörðu hit "næsta sumar eptir er Sveinn var "látinn gaflhlöd í drikkjuskála "þann hinn mikla er hann hafði áttan "i Gareksey." Munch says that the meaning of the words is that Andrew and Olaf built an upper storey to the house when their father died, but the sense of the context plainly is that the hall which Sweyn built was too long for them, they therefore cut it in half and divided it between them.

Weir, as the voyager enters Kirkwall Bay. Here at Westness, *Vestnes*, then, as now, the chief house on the island, lived in the time described in the latter part of the Saga, Sigurd of Westness, the husband of Ingibjörg the honourable, earl Paul's warmest adherent in his feud with earl Rognvald. Here it was while that ill-fated earl was on a visit to his friend that he was seized and carried off to perish miserably in Scotland by the daring Sweyn Asleif's son; a feat which is described in the Saga, p. 131 foll., with a force and liveliness nowhere surpassed in northern story. At Swendro near the "*Urð*," the "Ord" or heap of stones where the earl was seized after a fierce struggle when out otter-hunting, remains have been found in recent times which may well have been the bones of those nineteen men of the earl's followers whom Sigurd knew when he went to look at the slain and of those six "whom he did not know" who had fallen on Sweyn's side (Saga, p. 133). Between Rowsay and the Mainland is Evie Sound, the ancient *Efjusund* so called from *efja*, the backwater which is to be found at both ebb and flow in sounds where the stream runs out and in so violently as it does in Evie Sound. There may be seen and heard that terrific bore or wall of water caused by the waves of the deep Atlantic when borne by the tide over shallower ground. It may, perhaps, be seen best in Yell Sound in Shetland; but it is seen more or less in all the Orkney and Shetland firths and sounds, and certainly in a most remarkable degree in Evie Sound.

In Evie Sound, between Rowsay and the mainland, lies the little island of Eyn-hallow, that is, *Eyin Helga*, the Holy Isle, the ground of which was said to be so holy that neither rats nor mice could live on it, and where the straw dripped blood when corn was cut after sunset. All which are doubtless traditions from the days of the anchorites, who may have had their abode

on it. In the Saga Eyn-hallow is mentioned, p. 209, as the place where John Wing the younger, Sweyn Asleif's son's kinsman, seized Olaf Sweyn's son, and carried him off as a hostage to Rapness in Westray, where he met earl Rognvald. The boy had been fostered by Kolbein the Burly at Weir close by, and as soon as the earl heard of the seizure he made John Wing carry him back with the warning that, unless he did so, John would have no peace either at Sweyn's or Kolbein's hands.

We now come to the Mainland called by the Northmen *Hrossey*[1] or the Horse Island. What induced them

[1] Munch has shown that the strange name, Pomona, identical with that of the Roman goddess of Fruit and Plenty, which Buchanan gave to the mainland of Orkney when he says, "Orcadum maxima "multis veterum Pomona vocatur," arose out of a mistake in some MS. of Solinus, who, in speaking of the Orcades and Thyle, says, "Secun- "dum a continenti stationem Or- "cades præbent ... vacant homine, "non habent silvas, tantum junceis "herbis inhorrescunt. Cætera eo- "rum nudæ arenæ. Ab Orcadibus "Thylen usque 5 dierum ac noc- "tium navigatio est; sed Thyle "larga et diutinâ pomonâ copiosa "est." In this passage both diutina and pomona have been taken as local names at various times, as when Torfæus tells us that Hrossey or the Mainland was called Diutina by Solinus, and when the MS. which Fordun and Buchanan preferred read Pomona. In the one case, the passage in Solinus would have run, "Sed Thyle larga, et Diutina po- "monâ copiosa est," and in the other, "Sed Thyle larga et diutina "Pomona copiosa est." Solinus was as Munch well says, a geographical oracle all through the middle ages, but it is clear that in the pass sage in question he says nothing whatever about the Orkneys, but only that "Thyle, which was distant "from that group by a voyage of "five days and nights, was fruitful "and abundant in the lasting yield "of its crops." It follows, therefore, that "Pomona," of which Barry says "This appellation has "been traced, ridiculously enough "to a word in the Roman (*i.e.*, "Latin) language, that implies the "core or heart of an apple, an allu- "sion to the situation of this with "regard to the rest of the islands," should be banished from the geography of the Orkneys, as well as the Celtic derivation from "*po*," little, and "*mon*," country. It is remarkable that Solinus describes the Orkneys as uninhabited in his day, but when he flourished is very doubtful; about the middle of the third century of the Christian era seems the most probable date.

to call it by this name is as doubtful as the occasion which gave rise to the name Hjaltland for Shetland. Perhaps it was because they found ponies running wild there; perhaps because they turned horses loose themselves as they did in Iceland. "Mainland," the modern name of the central island, is the old Norse "*Meginland*" which they gave in the case of both Orkney and Shetland to the largest island in each group.

Having thus considered the origin of the ancient and modern names of the Main island we step into it from Rowsay across Evie Sound and find ourselves in Evie parish, which stretches from Costa Head all along the troubled sound to Woodwick opposite to Gairsay. At that point the parish of *Rendale* [1] meets us; the ancient *Rennadalr*, somewhere in which lay *Flugunes* or *Flyðrunes*, where Thorstein lived with his cross-grained sons, Asbjörn and Berlian or Blánn, the latter of whom seems to have been warder of the strong castle in Damsay, Rennadalr is again mentioned in our Saga (p. 201), on the occasion of earl Erlend's violent death at Damsay. Southward Rendale extends as far as Isbister, the ancient *Ossabólstaðr*, where the inland parish of *Harray* [2] begins, from which the lake of that name is called; while beyond Costa Head, the most northerly point of the island, the parish of Birsay begins and stretches along the coast as far as the high ground of Westrafold in the south-west. The name Birsay comes from *Birgisey*, that is, the isle off

[1] In this parish the old Norse dialect seems to have maintained itself a long time. John Ben, as quoted by Munch and Anderson, found it in full force there in 1529. "Utuntur idiomate proprio," he says, "veluti quum dicimus 'guid "'day, guidman,' illi dicunt "'goand da, boundæ.'" That is, "*godan dag*, bóndi."

[2] The name of this parish is probably derived from the word *hèrad*, which forms the last part of the compound *Birgis-hèrad*, now Birsay. In old times both the parishes of Harray and Birsay were united in the district called Birgis-hèrad. Munch thinks that Birsay does not come from *Birgis-ey*, the isle or *brock* of Birsay, but Birgis-á, the stream which falls into the sea at that spot.

the ancient district *Birgishèrað*, still called the Barony or Lordship of Birsay; off the coast, and joined to it at low tide lies the isle itself, the Brock or Burgh of Birsay. The district is famous in the Saga as the residence of the mighty earl Thorfinn and his descendants, the chief seat of their power and the burial place of their race till the translation of the relics of St. Magnus to Kirkwall deprived the earl's church at Birsay of most of its peculiar sanctity. Before that translation that church, built by earl Thorfinn, p. 59, and called "Christ's Church," was reckoned as the cathedral of the bishop (Saga, p. 89). On the Brock are still to be seen not only some remains of earl Thorfinn's castle, but also the ruins of another church said to have been dedicated to St. Peter, and all who have visited this remarkable spot, looking out on the West Atlantic, under the guidance of the late Mr. George Petrie, will know how much of interest still lingers round that little islet. The existing Christ Church is a comparatively recent erection, but close by are the foundations of the older church, of which a portion of the walls and traces of the apse were detected by the sharp eyes of Mr. Petrie.

After Birsay comes Sandwick parish, the ancient *Sandvík*, remarkable in modern times as the site of the discovery of those massive silver rings and brooches, the hoard of some Viking, which were found some years ago, and may be seen in the Museum at Edinburgh. This Sandwick must not be confounded with another place of the same name near Deerness in the south-east of the island, where Amundi, the father of Thorkel Fosterer lived, and where Earl Einar was slain by Thorkell at the feast which was to have reconciled them (Saga, p. 22). On the east the parish of Sandwick is bounded by the Lakes of Harray and Stennis, between which it ends near Brogar Bridge, west of which on a ness stand or lie the famous circles of stones which gave its name to the lake and the parish. The larger circle,

also called the "Ring of Brogar," where *Brogar* is no doubt a corruption of *Brúargarðr*, "the farm by "the bridge," has been described by Captain Thomas in the Archæologia, vol. xxxiv., to which the curious reader is referred for more precise details. Let it suffice here to say, that it consisted originally of 60 stones, erected about 18 feet apart, and forming a circle 366 feet in diameter. Of these rough unhewn stones, which are about 13 feet in height, 36 remain in a more or less perfect state of preservation. The area, comprising 2½ acres, within the circle has been artificially raised and levelled, and is surrounded outside the stones by a ditch 6 feet deep and 29 feet wide. The smaller circle, called the Ring of Stennis, originally consisted of 12 stones enclosing an area of about 100 feet in diameter; only two of these stones remain standing, and a third has been thrown down. This circle too was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch now nearly obliterated. In character these circles of stones are identical with those of Callernish in the Lewes, and may be ascribed to the same race, though what that race may have been is hard to say. Round these circles standing-stones and barrows are irregularly scattered on both the nesses or peninsulas between the lakes of Harray and Stennis. About a mile and a half from the Stones of Stennis, on the south-east shore of the lake of that name, towers the "Maes Howe," the great mound with a sepulchral chamber, excavated in 1861 by Mr. Farrer by the permission of Mr. Balfour, the owner of the property, and with the assistance of Mr. George Petrie and other distinguished antiquaries. Both those circles of stones and those huge barrows were found by the Northmen when they came into the Orkneys, and they at once called the ness or headland on which the principal circle stands *Steinsnes* or Stoneness, of which the modern Stennis is a corruption. After that it became the place of meeting for the inhabitants, whether in council or for

single combat. And here it was in the days of one of the most ancient earls, that Havard the "harvest-happy," the son of earl Thorfinn Skull-splitter, was attacked and slain by his sister's son, Einar Hardchaft, on a spot called *Hávarðsteigar* in the Saga, p. 12, which we are assured by Mr. George Petrie, as quoted by Munch, is still called "Havardsteg," after the ill-fated earl.

For readers of the Saga, the most interesting fact connected with these Celtic monuments is the strange discovery when the "Maes Howe" was excavated, that the stones of its central sepulchral chamber were scored with runes which have been variously read. One fact, however, remains clear, that the Howe was broken open by the followers of earl Rognvald-Kali to the Holy Land. This appears plain from one of the very few readings on which the antiquaries seem all agreed. In inscription 20 occurs the line "Iorsalafarar bruto "Orkhaug," "The Jewryfarers broke into Orkhow;" but the wise men are wrong in seeking *Orkhaug* or "*Orkhaugr*" anywhere else than in the Maes Howe itself.[1] In spite of the opinions expressed by authorities on runic inscriptions who venture to ascribe various dates to the inscriptions in question, it is probable that they were all done at the same time, and before the expedition to the Holy Land started. That was part of the sport of that idle winter which earl Rognvald and his unruly Norwegian comrades spent in the Orkneys, when, as we are told, that bold band was full of outrage and frolic. There has always been a tendency to make more of runic inscriptions than they deserve. They were as often as not the production of whim or caprice, and no more meant to be serious than the scrawlings of modern tourists after their own names on national monuments. Thus when we read in one of these inscriptions "Ingigerð

[1] See Farrer's beautiful book, Maes Howe, 1862. Compare also this translation of the Saga, p. 190.

is the loveliest woman," this may mean earl Rognvald's only child Ingigerð; but then Ingigerd is not at all an uncommon name, and just as when we read "Mary is a pretty girl" on the Pyramids we do not think it means a Princess Mary, but some Mary whom the tourist knows, it is probable that this Ingigerd was another maiden than the earl's daughter.

So also when another of the inscriptions says, "This "was cut with the axe which Gauk Trandil's son "from the south country owned," that is an allusion indeed to a weapon owned by one of the chiefs named in the Njal's Saga as alive two hundred years before; but it was probably only scored as a joke or hoax on generations to come. It seems pretty plain that if, as these inscriptions expressly assert, the voyagers to the Holy Land broke into the Howe, that the inscriptions would be all after their time, the middle of the twelfth century. With regard to the Maes Howe itself, the evidence of the Saga, as well as of the inscriptions, seems to show that it was called "*Orkahaugr*" or Orkahow in the time of the Saga. At p. 190, it is mentioned that when earl Harold Maddad's son set off on one of his expeditions against earl Erlend who then lay at Damsay, two of his men went mad, and delayed them much, owing to the inclemency of the wintry weather while they were in "Orkahow," where they had taken shelter. This is the Howe now known as the Maes Howe, and it was open, because a year or two before at most it had been broken into by the followers of earl Rognvald. On the occasion in question as earl Harold was on an adventure the success of which depended on secrecy, nothing could be more appropriate than that he should use the deserted chamber of the Howe as a place of shelter after landing from his ship on the shore of the lake of Stennis on his straight road to *Aurriðafirth* or Wideford Bay, in which the isle of Damsay lies. On the other hand, had he been staying

at a farm, his sick men would not have delayed him; he would have left them there, and passed on. The Howe was called Orkahaugr because it was the largest of the great barrows which surround the Stones of Stennis.

The south-west point of the peninsula beyond Sandwick forms Stromness parish, a name no doubt derived from the stream or tide which rushes in between the isles of Hoy and Græmsay and the Mainland. In ancient times a farm called *Kjarrekstaðir* stood near the site of the modern Stromness, which has been identified with the modern Cairston or Carstone.[1]

The southern extremity of this part of the island forms the parish of Orphir or Orfir, the ancient *Orfjara*, or *Örfjara*, the meaning of which is a flat or foreshore left bare at the ebb tide, a character which the coast still retains. Here it was that earl Paul Hacon's son kept his court, and here was a stately hall and a round church close by it, which also has been identified by the skill of Mr. George Petrie; for their position see the Saga, p. 117, foll., where the earl's court and the events which led Sweyn Asleif's son to slay his name-sake Sweyn Breastrope are graphically described. The hall lay near the modern Swanbister under what is now called the Ward Hill of Orfir, that is to say, the beacon hill of Orfir, and the highest in the island, which rises behind it to a height of 700 feet. But Munch has well pointed out that the Saga is wrong when it says that the Bay of Firth or *Aurriðafjörðr*, in which Damsay lies, can be seen from that hill, for the prospect in that direction is intercepted by the Keely Long Hills, the Norse *Kilir*, and Wideford Hill. At the extreme southern point of Orfir parish lies a little island, between which and the

[1] The conjecture of Munch is no doubt right that for "Kjarrekstöðum," p. 185 of the text of the Saga, we should read "Knarrarstöðum" Knarstead. Arni could never have run so far with his shield on his back without being aware of it.

mainland is formed what is called in modern times Midland Harbour, in which we at once recognise the *Meðallandshöfn* of the Sagas.[1]

Munch thinks that the "voe" or "vágr" which runs up into the mainland protected by this island was called *Hafnarvágr*, that is the "voe of the harbour or haven" the modern Hamnavoe, and he quotes the Saga, p. 190, where it is said, that when earl Harold Maddad's son attempted to surprise earl Erlend, he sailed first to Græmsay, where he lay two nights. After that they landed at Hafnarvágr in Hrossey, and crossed to Firth, that is, Wideford Firth. Then it was that they were caught in that storm which drove them to take shelter in "Orkahaugi," which Munch calls a farm, and identifies as the modern "Orkhill," but we have already seen that the Orkahaugr here mentioned is probably no other than the How now called Maes Howe, and that it was within its sepulchral chambers, then recently broken into by earl Rognvald's companions, that the earl took refuge. He was on a secret expedition, bent on seizing his unwary enemy by a sudden dash, and the site of the modern Orkhill is too near Orfir to have rendered it a suitable stopping place. It is probable, therefore, that the site of Hafnarvágr is to be sought further up in the bight of the bay, where the stream from the Lake of Stennis meets the sea. There Harold Maddad's son landed, and thence he started to traverse the district between the Stones of Stennis and the bay of Firth. Overtaken by a storm, he sought shelter in Orkahow, and there it was that two of his men went mad.

East of Orfir parish lies that of St. Olaf, which comprises the waist of the Orkney Mainland, and in which lies Kirkwall, the heart of the islands, as fortunate in its position between two seas as the ancient Corinth. The parish was called after the royal Norwegian saint from

[1] Hacon Hacon's son's Saga, p. 352, new ed.

the church which was erected to his honour on the shores of the "voe" which runs into the mainland on the north side of the isthmus. From the church the town which sprang up round it took its name *Kirkjuvágr* "the voe of the church," which modern pronunciation has turned into Kirkwall. From the "voe of the church" across the isthmus to the southern bay it is hardly so much as an English mile. That isthmus or "eið" is the *Skálpeið* so often mentioned in the Saga, and the bay itself is called *Skálpaflói* or "*Skálpeiðsflói*," which have both degenerated in modern speech into "Scapa," and "Scapa bay." On this isthmus, at or close to the town, but near enough to the bay to see ships sailing up, Things and gatherings of the freemen were frequently held. No doubt as Kirkwall rose into importance after the translation thither of the relics of St. Magnus and the building of the cathedral,[1] the ancient place of assembly at the Stones of Stennis was deserted for the more frequented locality near the capital, and as Scapa Bay became the great landing place of travellers from the south to Kirkwall, the place of meeting was transferred to the spot where men most congregated. So it was that after earl Paul was spirited away in that mysterious manner by Sweyn Asleif's son we find earl Rognvald, p. 134, assembling a Thing to discuss matters near Kirkwall, where the text shows that the place of meeting was close enough to the shore to see and even to recognize travellers as they landed. Not far from the landing place on the western side of Scapa Bay lay the ancient "*Knarrarstaðir*," Knarstead, that is, the "stead of ships" and especially merchant ships, from the ancient "*Knörr*." This was a farm which belonged to the earls, or at least to earl Rognvald-Kali, p. 137, and where there was according to the Saga, p. 188, some sort of

[1] The Saga, p. 92, expressly says of Kirkwall, before the translation of the relics of St. Magnus, from Christ Church in Birsay, that it "had few houses."

fortification or castle. The Saga, p. 198 foll., shows how narrowly the earls, on more than one occasion, escaped the attacks of their enemies at this very farm. On the east side of the bay, where the land is higher, lies the modern Gatnip, where the Saga, p. 134, tells us that Borgar, the son of earl Erlend's base-born daughter, Jadvör, lived. The ancient name was *Geitaberg* or "Goathill" or *Jadvararstaðr*, Jadvorstead, and from that elevation Borgar saw Sweyn Asleif's son as he sailed from Caithness through the South Isles on his adventurous voyage to seize earl Paul. The same sharp eyes saw the bold Viking return with his prey after he had accomplished his daring feat.

Now let us return to Kirkwall. The position of the town is peculiar. To the north and west it is bounded by water. To the north by the open sea of the voe, and on the west by a backwater called the "Oyce' or "Peerie Sea," that is, the Little Sea. This backwater is cut off from the open sea by a bank of sand and shingle called the "air," derived from the ancient Norse "*eyrr*," the old English form of which is "ere" or "or." [1]

Along the east side of this "Oyce" or Peerie Sea straggles the town of Kirkwall abutting on the open sea of the voe at its northern extremity. Of public buildings, the remains of the old St. Olaf's Church lie nearest the sea at the northern end of the town, and no doubt in early times the dwellings of the inhabitants were clustered round that ancient church. In later days when earl Rognvald's magnificent cathedral rose in all its beauty further south, other public buildings

[1] This "or" or "ere" forms the ending of many names of places in the British isles, as Upn-or, Bogn-or, Walm-er, in each of which there is a natural bank of sand or shingle protecting a low tract of land, sometimes, as in the case of Walmer, below high-water mark; compare also Ravensere, the old *Hrafnseyrr*, Saga, p. 63, near the Spurn Head at the north of the Humber.

sprang up about it. So arose what used to be called till it was pulled down a few years since, the King's Castle, but which was in reality the ancient palace of the earls, though it was probably not the work of any of the earls mentioned in the Saga, but erected by one of the St. Clairs in the fourteenth century. Later still as the town stretched itself still further south another earl's palace was built by the tyrannical Patrick Stewart at the beginning of the seventeenth century; it stands a little beyond the bishop's palace, which lay between it and the older earl's palace.

We now come to the cathedral, which is the glory of the Orkneys and indeed of all the north. It stands nobly on an open space to the east of the long straggling high street, pretty nearly at the end of the town, and south-east of the king's castle or ancient earl's palace. The Saga relates how this splendid church arose in obedience to a vow suggested by the politic Kol, the father of earl Rognvald-Kali. It also tells us that Kol was the master mason, in which case he was as skilled in architecture as in policy, and how, when money fell short, the work was carried on by allowing the freemen to redeem their allodial holdings for a fixed sum (Saga, p. 137). But in spite of all efforts the work after the first start proceeded slowly, as was often the case with mediæval buildings; and there was a great gap in the west end of the church which was not filled up till the time of bishop Thomas Tulloch, about the year 1450. In it, till the Reformation, was that magnificent shrine of St. Magnus of which we read so much in the Saga. In that religious revolution it perished with all its treasures. The bones of the saint and his skull, bearing marks of the fracture made by Lifolf's axe (Saga, p. 81), were then immured in one of the massive pillars of the choir, whence they were broken out a few years ago by an English nobleman, and having been inspected, and as

far as possible identified, they were returned to the resting place in which they had so long remained. In this respect the relics were more fortunate than those of any saint, either in North or South Britain, except perhaps those of Cuthbert at Durham, and of Edward the Confessor, which last are supposed still to rest at Westminster in the wooden shrine to which they were restored by Abbot Feckenham in the time of Queen Mary. For those of St. Cuthbert inquire of the Benedictines. In the cathedral too rested the bones of bishop William, whom the Saga calls the first bishop of the Orkneys. After having held the see for the long space of 60 years, he was buried there in the year 1168. In 1848, when the church was repaired, his bones were found enclosed in a stone cist along with a leaden plate, on which was inscribed "*Hic requiescit Willielmus "senex, felicis memoriæ, primus Episcopus.*" The bones and the cist were carted away as rubbish, but the plate and the bone head of the bishop's pastoral staff are preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

On the south side of the cathedral and just opposite to it, nearer to the sea-shore, stand the venerable remains of the bishop's palace; probably after the remains of Saint Olaf's church and the cathedral, the oldest building in the town. For Norwegian history it has great interest, as being the abode and death place of king Hacon Hacon's son, in the year 1263. His remains found a resting place in St. Magnus' church till they were removed to Norway.

With regard to the earls and their residence in Kirkwall, it is probable that, in the times of which the Saga treats, they seldom took up their abode in the town. The earliest mention of Kirkwall in our Saga is at p. 53, where it is said that earl Rognvald established himself there, and how earl Thorfinn, after slaying earl

Rognvald Brúsi's son and his followers on the Greater Papey, sailed for Kirkwall, where, by a stratagem, he induced the remaining adherents of his rival on land to meet him at the landing-place unarmed, when he seized them and put them all to death but one. At the end of the Saga and especially in the quarrels between the earls Rognvald and Harold and Sweyn Asleif's son, we hear much of Kirkwall in connexion with the cathedral, which was used both as a sanctuary for fugitives and a storehouse for sails and the tackling of ships which the earls had seized.

Leaving Kirkwall and Thievisholm, which no doubt may be restored to *þíofahólmr* from the thieves who met their deaths on the gallows there, but which is not mentioned in the Saga, we come to Quanterness on the west side of the voe, with its Picts' house, first described by Barry and since scientifically examined along with so many others in the Orkneys by the late lamented Mr. George Petrie. Looking west from Quanterness and Kirkwall the horizon is intercepted by Wideford Hill, in which "Wideford" is a corruption of "*Aurriðafjörðr*," that is Troutfirth, otherwise called simply *Fjörðr* or Firth in the Saga. From this hill, which almost rivals the Ward Hill of Orfir in height, an extended prospect is afforded over the whole archipelago and especially north and west towards Westray and Stronsay. Its sides are hollow with those weems and Picts' houses already described, which seem more common in this neighbourhood than anywhere else in the Orkneys. Close under the feet of the beholder as he stands on the top of Wideford Hill lies *Aurriðafjördr*, the bay or firth already mentioned. It is often mentioned in the Saga and was the scene of the death of the ill-fated earl Erlend, who lay in his ship off Damsay, the ancient *Daminsey*. Of the strong castle on that island a few remains are visible. On the north side of

the Bay of Firth we return to Rendale parish, the ancient *Rennadalr*, from which we started, and we have now completed our perambulation of Hrossey or the Mainland west of the isthmus at Scapa Bay. The districts east of that isthmus remain to be described.

Off Inganess lies Shapinsay, which is not mentioned in the Saga, but which, as has been already said, may be with certainty restored to the ancient *Hjálpandisey*. On its southern side which protects the entrance to Kirkwall Harbour lies Ellwick, the ancient *Elliðavík* which is mentioned in Hacon Hacon's son's Saga.

Returning to the Mainland east of Scapa Bay we come after Inganess Bay to Tankarness, a peninsula which juts out into the sea, the north point of which was called *Tannskaranes*, off which earl Paul Hacon's son (Saga, p. 112 foll.), met the ships of Oliver the Unruly and Frakok and signally defeated them, having first descried them rounding the Mull Head off Deerness on their way to join his rival earl Rognvald. Here, on a farm of the same name, lived a freeman named Erling, who, with his stalwart sons, helped the earl by bringing stones, the rude artillery of those times, to hurl at his foes, down to his ship. Passing on from Tankarness we come to the easternmost peninsula of the Mainland, Deerness, the ancient *Dýrnes*, which is almost an island, being only joined to the Mainland by a narrow neck, probably called in ancient times *Sandeið* from the nature of the soil, and now called "Sandaysand." Off the Mull Head (*Múli*) of Deerness, the bloody sea-fight took place between earl Thorfinn and the Scot-king, Karl Hound's son, and in the verses of Arnor Earlskald, the name of the promontory is given (Saga, p. 33). This *Dýrnes* is not to be mistaken for another *Dýrnes* or *Djurnes* near Cape Wrath, which is also mentioned in the Sagas.

On Deerness lies a spot memorable in the early days of the Orkney earls. Here at *Sandvík* now Sandwick,

that is Sandy Bay, on the east side of the peninsula, lived Ámundi or Amund in the days of earl Einar Brúsi's son. The words of the Saga are (p. 17) that he lived in Hrossey at Sandwick, on *Laupandanes* or Lopness. It seems probable that the last name is that of the district, and Sandvik that of the abode of Ámundi, but whichever it be, there with his father lived Thorkel the fosterer of earl Thorfinn, and there at Sandwick Thorkel slew earl Einar Wrymouth at a feast. Thither, too, a little afterwards earl Thorfinn fled when surprised by king Karl, and there he was met by Thorkel "under Deerness" with reinforcements.

Off Deerness lies Copinsay, the first islet which the traveller passes when steering for Kirkwall. It is not mentioned in the Saga, but there is no doubt that its ancient name was *Kolbeinsey*, as Munch has restored it, and not "*Kaupmannaey* island" or "Merchant's "island" as some have supposed.

Last of all we come to the south-easternmost part of Mainland, the parish of Holm or Paplay. Munch supposes that Holm is a mis-pronunciation of "*Heimr*," but it might have arisen from the Holms which lie off the coast. The "*Papýli*" or "*Papuli*" mentioned in our Saga was probably this Paplay in Hrossey, and not another farm of the same name in the neighbouring island of South Ronaldsay. *See* Saga, page 198. Whichever it was, it was part of the landed property which belonged to the family of earl Erlend, the father of Saint Magnus, for Paplay is mentioned by the Saga, p. 74, as part of the dower which Gunhilda, the sister of the saint, brought to her husband Kol, the son of Kali; and here, too, lived the saint's mother, and after her her son Hacon churl.

We now leave the Mainland, and passing rapidly over Lambholm, Glimsholm, and Burray, on the last of which there are the remains of a fine burgh, like that at Moussa, from which no doubt the island took its ancient

name of *Borgarey*, "the island of the burgh or castle," we come to South Ronaldsay, which is often mentioned in the Saga. We have already seen that, in modern times, South Ronaldsay took its prefix "South" to distinguish it from North Ronaldsay; but in ancient times there was no such ambiguity. The northern island was called *Rínansey* and the southern *Rögnvaldsey*, though, as the MSS. sometimes write both names *R-ey*, some confusion has arisen from the carelessness of transcribers, both ancient and modern. After Hrossey no island is named so often in our Saga as South Ronaldsay, a fact easily accounted for by its nearness to the Scottish main, whence so many expeditions against the Isles were planned and executed. On this island was *Barðsvik*, now Barswick, where Sweyn Asleif's son (p. 207) saw a ship of war sailing from Hrossey to South Ronaldsay, and from the same place, (p. 208) earl Rognvald and Sweyn saw earl Harold Maddad's son sailing over from Caithness to *Vágaland*, or Walls or Waas, that is to the low-lying portion of Hoy. On the north-west side of the island lies Ronaldsvoe, the ancient *Rognvaldsvágr*, which, according to Munch, is the inner bight of the great bay now called "Widewall Bay," and in ancient times *Víðivágr*. Ronaldsvoe is interesting as being the harbour in which king Hacon Hacon's son lay from the 1st to the 10th of August in 1263, when he witnessed the annular eclipse of the sun which happened on the 5th of August in that year.[1]

Hoxa, the ancient *Haugseið* (the Cod. Flat. reads "*Haugaheiði*," Howheath), is an outlying peninsula on the north west of South Ronaldsay, which forms one arm of Widewall harbour. It was in all probability so called from the Haugr or Howe of earl Thorfinn

[1] Hacon Hacon's son's Saga, p. 333–4, 352, new ed.

Skullsplitter (Saga, p. 11), whose resting-place may, perhaps, be identified with the great barrow called the "Howe of Hoxa;" though it is probable, as Munch suggests, that the Howe existed before the Northmen came to Orkney, and was utilized by the followers of the Orkney earl as his burial place.

Here, too, on the east side of the island, is another *Papýli* or Paplay, which, with the other Paplay already mentioned in Hrossey, claims to be the farm described in the Saga, p. 74, as part of the possessions of the descendants of earl Magnus the saint. In any case the name is another proof of the abode of Irish anchorites in the Orkneys. Off South Ronaldsay lies Swanay, the ancient *Swíney*, mentioned in the Saga, p. 89, as the abode of Grim, a man of small means, whose sturdy sons Asbjorn and Margad were the constant followers of Sweyn Asleif's son.

After South Ronaldsay we have only one considerable island of the group left to describe. This is Hoy, the ancient *Háey*, or "high island," which answers to its name as being, in part at least, the only really mountainous island of the group. The south-eastern extremity of the island is, however, flat; cut off from the hilly part by a narrow neck of land, just where the "voe," which forms part of the splendid harbour of Longhope, indents the shore, it is almost considered a distinct island, and is called "Walls," from the ancient *vágar*, from *vágr*, a "voe." In the Saga it is called repeatedly *Vágaland*. Here is the voe or haven called Osmondswall in modern and *Ásmundarvágr* in ancient times; where the Saga tells us that earl Sigurd was caught weatherbound by king Olaf Tryggvi's son, in the year 995, and forced to become an unwilling convert to Christianity (Saga, p. 15). Here too earl Einar Wrymouth caught and slew Eyvind Úrarhorn, king Olaf's dear friend (Saga, p. 20). By some it has been

supposed that Osmondswall is to be sought on South Ronaldsay opposite, but Munch has shown that it is more properly placed on Walls. The remainder of Hoy is so hilly as to be scarcely habitable, though there on the "Upland," no doubt a hill farm, lived John Wing, the friend and kinsman of Sweyn Asleif's son (Saga, p. 89). His brother was Richard of the Brink on Stronsay, and the Saga tells us (p. 130) how the two fell on Thorkel the flayer, and burnt him and nine men in the house which their kinsman Waltheof had owned. At Rackwick, the ancient *Rekavík*, on the north-west side lived Thorljót, the father of Oliver the Unruly, and the son-in-law of Frakok, whose fate is described, Saga, p. 140. In a valley on the side of the highest hill on Hoy is the famous Dwarfie Stone which contains three chambers hewn by human hands, and in which we, no doubt, see one of those cells to which the Papæ or anchorites retired to spend their ascetic lives. Here in Hoy the legends of the North laid the scene of that endless mythical combat mentioned in the Skálda as *Hjaðninga-víg*, where day by day the followers of Högni and Heðinn fought and fell, only to rise up at dawn next day to renew the struggle, which was to last till the day of doom. This is not the only tale which shows that to the Northmen those islands of the West were holy ground, but it is remarkable that the last remains of Norse poetry in these islands, rescued by Low in 1774, should have turned on one of the episodes in this *Hjaðninga-víg*.

We now leave the Orkneys and pass on across the Pentland Firth, but let us pause to point out that the true name of that stormy strait is not Pentland, but *Petland* or *Pèttland*, that is "the Firth of the land of "the Picts." Whatever may be said to the contrary, the name thus given by the Northmen to the strait which separated them from a foreign and hostile race is a proof that the Picts or *Pihte* or *Peohte* or *Peti*, as the

Latinized form ran, were in existence as a people or race when the first sea rovers and settlers reached those waters from Norway. In those days the term Scotland had not extended to the northernmost part of the country. The Picts in fact had not yet disappeared before the advance of the Scots from Ireland and the West. For a long period these two races, the Picts in the north and east and the Scots—the Dalriad Scots as they were called—in the west, co-existed in Scotland, and during the events narrated in the earlier portion of our Saga a continuous struggle for supremacy went on between the older Pictish royal race in Moray and the younger line of the Scots in the south, which at last terminated in the victory of the latter. Then, and not till then, the Picts disappeared, that is to say, they were amalgamated with the victorious race. But for centuries the dwellers beyond Caithness, and Sutherland, in Ross, and Moray, were known to the Northmen as Picts, and not as Scots, and so the stormy water which parted them from the Scottish mainland was called the *Pèttland*, or Pictland Firth. In it, between South Ronaldsay and Caithness, lies the *Pèttlands Sker*, now called "the "Pentland Skerries," and nearer to the Scottish shore lies Stromay or Stroma, the ancient *Straumey*, "the "island in the stream" or tide-way, mentioned in the Njáls Saga, as well as in the Saga, p. 208, as the abode of Ámundi the son of Hnefi, who reconciled earl Harold and Sweyn Asleifs son.

Finally, before we land on Caithness, we must mention "*Svelgr*" a dangerous whirlpool or "maelström," which may, perhaps, be identified with the eddy off Swelchie or Swilchie Point in the island of Stroma. It was in this famous whirlpool that Grotti the mill of the mythic king Fróði, which could grind all things, was sunk by the sea-rover who carried it off; a story which still lingers in the Norse popular tale, "Why "the Sea is Salt," and there at the bottom of the

" Swelchie," Fróði's mill is supposed still to lie and to grind all the salt in the sea.

Landing in Caithness we shall not be surprised to find the Northmen simultaneously with their colonization of the Orkneys established on various parts of the north of Scotland. On jutting headlands and in deep bays and along the winding dales and straths of the rivers, Northern names still linger to witness their ancient occupation by this stirring race. Of Caithness, the ancient *Katanes* or more shortly *Nes*, the Naze or promontory *par excellence*, it may be said that it was in those times purely Norse. It seems always to have been held by the Orkney earls, and notably by earl Harold Maddad's son, as a fief from the Scottish king, who, even when most exasperated against his vassal, gave vent to his wrath rather on the population and freemen than on the earl (Saga, p. 230). When there were joint earls in the Orkneys and they were good friends, they went annually over to Caithness to hunt deer, as when earls Rognvald and Harold set out on that hunting party which ended in Rognvald's death (Saga, p. 214–15). Sutherland, too, the ancient *Suðrlönd* took its name from the Northmen. It was south to them though north to almost all the rest of Scotland. Over both these counties, which, by the conformation of the coasts east and west, form as it were a promontory by themselves, for a long period the Northmen held more sway than any other rulers in Scotland. In the time of the earls their power naturally varied on the Mainland as they were strong and aggressive, or weak and peaceful at home. The power wielded by a Sigurd or a Thorfinn differed much from that claimed by a Brúsi or a Paul. Speaking generally, we may say that the rule of the Northmen in early times extended as far as the Dornoch Firth and the Oikel; and on the banks of the latter river it is expressly said of Sigurd, one of

the earliest earls, that he was buried under a "howe [1]" there (Saga, p. 6). The *Torfnes*, where earl Einar first cut turf as we are told, and whence he took his nickname, is supposed to be the same as Tarbetness which divides the Dornoch from the Moray Firth. Arnor Earlskald sings of it as south of Oikel, p. 35. That this influence of the Northmen existed in later times, is shown by the account of the route pursued by Sweyn Asleif's son when he went out to take vengeance on the carline Frakok. He sailed from the Orkneys east of the Swelchie in the Pentland Firth to the Moray Firth, the ancient *Breiðafjörðr*, and on to Elgin and the valley of the Oikel,[2] and so up the country to Athole, where he got guides, and then fell on his enemy by a back blow in Sutherland, where he wreaked his vengeance to the full.

In both Caithness and Sutherland a glance at the map will show from the names the prevalence of Northern settlers in the country. Along the coast, Cape Wrath is a distortion of cape *Hvarf*, that is Turnagain Point, because after it the coast trends away south. Close to it was a *Djurnes* or *Dýrnes*, not to be confounded with the headland of the same name in Hrossey. Then there is Force or *Fors*, the "waterfall" at the mouth of the river which runs down from Loch Caldell, the ancient *Kalfadals-vatn*, through the side dale of the same name, in which Earl Rognvald-Kali met his death by the hands of the unruly Thorbjorn Clerk (Saga, p. 215). Next comes Thurso, the ancient *þórsá*, mentioned in the Saga,

[1] Mr. Anderson in Hjaltalins translation of the Saga, p. 107, has identified Sigurd's Howe through Siward hoch, and Siddera with the modern Cyder Hall "near the ferry on the north bank of the Dornoch Firth into which the Oykel runs." Mr. Skene, however, does not agree with this view.

[2] This route by the Oikel is a stumbling block to Mr. Anderson, who proposes to read "Atjöklabakki" for Ekkjals-bakki; but there seems no good reason for the alteration.

p. 130, as the abode of earl Ottar Frakok's brother and afterwards of his kinsman, earl Harold Maddad's son. Not far off is *Staur*, supposed to be Broom Ness. At Scrabster, *Skarabólstaðr*, they had a castle. Not far from Scrabster lies Murkle, the ancient *Myrkholl*, where Ragnhilda, Eric Bloodaxe's bloodthirsty daughter, caused her husband earl Arnfinn to be murdered (Saga, p. 11). Dunnet Head is probably the *Rauðabjörg* or Red Head of the Saga. Between it and Duncansby is *Höfn Huma* where earl Hlodver was buried. Duncansby Head is the *Dungalsbær* of the Saga, in which it is mentioned often as one of the possessions of Sweyn Asleif's son, and on the east coast was *Lambaborg*, Lamburg, the strong castle whence he and Margad escaped when besieged by earl Rognvald. It is clear from the Saga, pp. 186, 191, that this castle was close to Freswick, the ancient *þrasvík*. Further down the coast is *Víkr* the modern Wick. It is uncertain where Skidmire, the ancient *Skiðamýri*, lay, where the rival earls of Northern and Scottish or Pictish race met to settle their quarrels in staked lists. It was probably in the interior of Caithness, in the district called the Dales.[1] There in the Dales at one time dwelt the treacherous and intriguing Frakok till her designs against earl Paul made both Caithness and Sutherland too hot to hold her, and she retired to Athole, where her niece Margaret had married earl Maddad. Afterwards she returned to Helmsdale, *Hjalmundalr*, in Sutherland, and there it was that her implacable foe, Sweyn Asleif's son, fell on her after a circuitous expedition, and burnt her and all who were in the house (Saga, p. 139, 140). Besides these and many others in Caithness and Sutherland, which last was the border country between the Northmen and the Scottish races, numberless names of places along the coasts east and west attest the extent to which

[1] Mr. Anderson places it at Skitten.

their expeditions reached when they were bent on conquest or sea-roving. Not to speak of the invasions both of Scotland, England, and Ireland by earl Thorfinn, the life of Sweyn Asleif's son, so graphically told in the Saga, proves how wide a flight the old Viking took in his private wars. Sometimes he is harrying and burning either alone or in partnership, in the Southern Isles and Scotland's Firths, that is the Firths on the west coast, where dwelt the great race of which Somerled was the chief, whom Sweyn was said to have slain. Sometimes he is on an expedition into the heart of Scotland as far as Athole, bent on vengeance in a blood feud. Now he is plundering monks or merchants in the Firth of Forth, and seizing, in company with Anakol, on the goods of Canute, a merchant of North Berwick; for it is plain from the context that it is North Berwick, and not Berwick-on-Tweed, which is meant when the Saga in several places talk of *Berwík*. At another time he is in the Scilly Isles at Port St. Mary's, or off Ireland robbing English traders of their broadcloth. Going regularly out to rob and plunder twice in each year, in spring after he had sown his crops, and in autumn after he had reaped them, he dies at last in Dublin, the victim of treachery; and so ended the career of one who may be called the last of the Vikings. Wherever the Northman went he left his mark, and one of his marks was giving names to places which to this day all over Scotland and the West bear witness to his enterprize and power.

But this geographical account would be incomplete were we to pass over in silence those expeditions by the Northmen which went beyond the Narrow Seas away from Norway and the islands of the West, and entered what to them was the ocean of the Mediterranean. Such were the fleets fitted out by king Sigurd for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, whence he got his

nickname "Jewryfarer," and by earl Rognvald-Kali expressly in imitation of that monarch. Those pilgrimages followed the Crusades and the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and as in the days of the earlier earls, such as Thorfinn and Hacon, a pilgrimage to Rome followed by absolution from the Holy Father for direful sins was looked on as the fitting end of an earthly career too often debased by ambition; so in the days of their successors it was thought that to visit Jerusalem and to see the Holy Places in that city and in Palestine was a voyage which might atone for many crimes. In those days the northern pilgrims, like the modern Syrians and Copts, swam across the muddy Jordan in token that their sins were washed out by the waves of that holy stream, and not one of the least curious facts recorded in the pilgrimage of earl Rognvald is his swimming across that river with Sweyn Asleif's son's stepson, the dashing Sigmund angle, and twisting the knot of shame in the hoary willows on the opposite bank as a brand of disgrace for the false Eindrid who had deserted them on the way. These expeditions in another way were connected with the Crusades. As the Crusaders had often lingered at Constantinople sometimes aiding, sometimes expelling, the emperors of the East, so king Sigurd and earl Rognvald after him thought it right to show themselves and their trim ships and bold crews at the Byzantine court, and as they neared the imperial city, which to their eyes was greater and richer far than any capital in the world, they strained every nerve and put on all their bravery of apparel to present themselves as great kings and mighty earls before the eyes of the Greeks and their master. Nor, assuredly, was it without a flush of pride as they sailed through the Dardanelles and across the sea of Marmora that those hardy children of the North remembered that the mainstay of all the pomp and pride of the empire of the East was that

chosen band of Varangians, on whom, of all their legions, the emperors most relied, and to whom the most exclusive rights and the most sweeping privileges were granted as the reward of their unflinching allegiance. With regard to these expeditions the Orkneyingers' Saga affords the most curious information. In it we can follow such a design through every stage from its very conception to its perfect accomplishment. Here we see how Eindrid the young, who had served long among the Varangians, first incited earl Rognvald to gain glory by deeds in the East; then how earl Rognvald's friends and relations rallied round him as soon as he had made up his mind to make the pilgrimage; next how the ships were built and how long they took to build, how jealously earl Rognvald's rights as leader of the expedition were guarded in the stipulation that no one but he was to have a gaily painted and decorated ship, no one but he one of more than sixty oars;[1] both of which con-

[1] The longships, that is, the warships of the Northmen, were vessels with one mast and one sail of a lug shape; they must also have carried a jib or foresail. Aft there seems to have been a half deck, on which was a poop, *lypting*, where the cabin of the captain was. In the waist, they were undecked, and here on benches, *sessur*, sat the rowers two on a bench. Hence, when a ship is said to be a *twítugsessa*, or twenty benches, that means she had forty oars, *half þritugt*, like earl Rognvald's ship fifty oars, and so on, some ships being said to have had 100 oars on each side, though that, no doubt, is a fabulous number. The way in which the rowers sat is not clear, though it is not quite such a puzzle as the position of the oarsmen in the ancient trireme. It is not improbable, if the oars were long and the longship high out of the water, that the rower who pulled the oar on the starboard side sat over to larboard and his mate on the bench who pulled on the larboard in his turn over to starboard, so that each might have more purchase and control over his oar. Across the undecked part of the ships were thwarts or planks, *þoptur;* whether these were the benches on which the rowers sat is uncertain. Passing on to the forepart of the ship, that, too, was decked, and under the deck, in what would now be called the forecastle, some of the crew were lodged at night. The rest found shelter under the awnings, *tjöld*, with which the ships of the Northmen seem always to have been covered at night when strife was not looked for. *See* Saga,

ditions were broken by the ambition of Eindrid, whose ship alone of all the squadron rivalled in burden and beauty the longship of the earl.

p. 192, and Sweyn Asleif's son's advice to his companions. The word "forecastle" exactly implied what the bow or forepart of the Northmen's ships were. It was raised like the poop, and on it stood in action the picked men of the crew who were called *stafnbúar* that is, *stem-men* or *bowmen*. On either side of the prow or true bow, where the bowsprit projected, were two cat heads, *brandar*, which were often, together with the figure-head of the ship, much carved and decorated, and hence often taken as trophies and erected at the doors of the conquerors' houses as signs of victory; just as was the case with the prows of galleys in ancient times, and even among the Anglo-Saxons, as when earl Harold Godwin's son sent similar trophies to Edward the Confessor after he had slain Griffith and taken his ship. As the waists of the ships were low compared with the stem and stern means were taken to raise the sides before action by temporary bulwarks, this "clearing "the decks for action" was called *víggyrðla skipit*. At other times this waist of the ship was decorated with the shields of the crew which were hung along them on a rail which is even found in trading ships or *býrðinger*, see the account in the Saga, page 54, of the surprise of earl Rognvald's men in Kirkwall by earl Thorfinn. In shape and look these longships or war-ships were long and narrow, and so less seaworthy than the *byrðings*, in which the ordinary traffic of the time was carried on. It is also a question whether the true *byrðingr* or trading ship, also called *Knörr*, was ever rowed unless in very exceptional cases. Sometimes a war-ship was called *Snekkja*, a snake, or *Dreki*, a drake or dragon; a ship of this name probably differed in nothing from the mould of other warships, except that it had, as in Eindrid's ship, which is expressly called a *Drake*, a figure-head carved like a dragon, and that at the taffrail at the stern, it was carved into coils resembling the folds and tail of a serpent. Besides the thirty, forty, fifty, or more rowers that each longship carried, her crew consisted of a greater number, some to fight while the oarsmen rowed the ship into action, some to relieve the rowers when they had rowed a certain time, Thus, to take one instance out of many, earl Harold's ship, mentioned in the Saga, page 184, was one of forty oars, and yet her crew was made up of eighty men; and again, page 48, seventy dead are mentioned as having been taken out of earl Thorfinn's ship, though it had been said before that his ships were not large. One hundred and twenty men was no unusual number for a longship to carry. It seems to have been an invariable practice when Northmen fought against Northmen that the attacking side rowed up to their adversaries, who awaited them, having first lashed their ships together in line. As soon as the attacking ships came close enough

At last after the ships had been built and his plans matured, earl Rognvald started, late in the summer of 1151—for they had to wait for the traitor Eindrid's new ship—for his voyage to the east. Besides bishop William, who, as a clerk of Paris, was supposed to know all things, and whom they took with them as an interpreter, the earl was followed by his Orkney chiefs and

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to begin the action, they too were lashed together, and after a struggle which lasted some time with missiles, in which stones were largely and constantly employed, the two lines closed together by the action of wind or tide, and then when the decks of either side had been sufficiently cleared to allow them to board, those who had the best of it boarded, *gengu upp*, much in our old English way, and then cleared the enemy's deck by a struggle hand to hand. All round the ship on both sides a gangway seems to have run, and when these and the poop and forecastle were cleared the ship was said to be "*hroðit*," and the conquerors passed on from her to the next ship in the enemy's line to which she was, as has been said, lashed. In this way action went on, till one side had so much the best of it and had cleared or captured so many of the enemy that the day was won. The sign of this stage of the contest was the signal given on the beaten side to cut away the lashings, *höggva tengslin*, and to fly. Then as the line was broken every ship of the worsted party rowed or sailed off and shifted for itself. This was followed by a similar sundering of the lashings in the conqueror's line, which then ship by ship chased the flying foe. Very graphic accounts of such actions will be found in the Saga, page 33, fol., where the sea-fight near Dyrness between earl Thorfinn and king Karl of Scotland is described, and also at page 47, fol., where the action between earls Thorfinn and Rognvald off Dunnet Head in the Pentland Firth is minutely detailed. Compare also the account of the battle at Hjoring-voe, in the Iomsvíkinga Saga. These were the fights of Northmen against Northmen, but an action very nearly resembling a boarding expedition in large boats against a galleon of great size will be found at page 173, fol., where earl Rognvald with his seven ships attacked the Moorish Dromond, which was so huge that she loomed through the fog like an island, while her sides were so tall and round that they could not board her when they closed with her broadside to broadside, and at last had to hew their way into her through her iron-bound sides. This combat with the Dromond reminds one much of Drake or Hawkins or Cavendish capturing the huge galleons or carracks of the Spaniards off the Spanish Main.

his Norse kinsmen and friends. In all they had a fleet of fifteen ships, as well built and fitted out as ships in that age could be. Our purpose here is only with the geography of their voyage,—the places they passed rather than the feats they performed are what we wish to describe. As they passed the Vesla-sands off the Northumbrian coast, that is, the north-east coast of England, as far as the Humber, one of the skalds who accompanied the earl burst out into song, the words of his verse fix the spot as off Humber-mouth, and perhaps one of the many shoals which fringe the mouth of that estuary and the Wash may be the sand meant.[1] After this we hear of them sailing south along the coast of England till they come to *Valland*, that is, France, or some country peopled by a Romance race; and next we find them at *Nerbon*, according to all the best MSS. That this Nerbon is the same as Narbonne in the Gulf of Lyons, in the south of France, seems impossible, for that city is just the last spot on the shores of the Mediterranean in which we should expect to find these adventurers, as it lay entirely out of their course. That, however, it was some place in the wine-growing country is clear from the fact that Ermingard pours out wine to the earl and his captains rather than mead or ale; and, on the whole, it seems not unlikely that "Nerbon" is the river Nerbion or Nervion, and that the sea-burg is the modern Bilbao in the north of Spain; but wherever it was, that lovely lady received the Northmen most hospitably, and whatever might be the case with her, it is plain from earl Rognvald's verses, long after their parting and when much of that salt water which proverbially washes out love was between them,

[1] The Flatey Book reads for Humrumynni *Hverumynni*, that is, "Wearmouth." If so, the sand in question must be sought for off the mouth of the Wear in Durham; and as even the Flatey Book may have sometimes a good reading, this may be one of the exceptional merits of that text.

that she had made a great impression on him. But their aim was the Holy Land, not to make love in Nerbon, and so earl Rognvald tore himself away and we next hear of him as sailing west off Thrasness, which may mean Capes La Hogue, Ortegal, or Finisterre in Spain, according to the position of the doubtful "Nerbon" on the map of Europe. Next they came, still sailing west, to Galicia in Spain, and there they wintered, spending part of it, till the weather allowed them to sail in the spring of 1152, in ridding the inhabitants of the district of a tyrant named Godfrey who oppressed them terribly. Having taken his castle, they sailed thence west along the shores of heathen Spain, that is, along the districts possessed by the Moors, landing and harrying the country, and encountering a violent storm before they could beat through the Gut at Gibraltar. As soon as they had passed it the treacherous nature of Eindrid was revealed. He sailed away with six ships for Marseilles, while earl Rognvald and the rest lay to in the Straits. After that the earl sailed along the Barbary coast till he came off the island of Sardinia, where he fell in with a huge Dromond, or ship of burden, which had been driven to sea from Tripoli, Tunis, or Algiers, having on board of her a Moorish chief and untold wealth in wares and gold and silver. The Northmen took her after a sharp struggle, and then, after a custom not uncommon in those times, put into a port in Barbary to dispose of the prisoners they had spared, and some of the goods which they had taken out of their prize. Thence they sailed south to Crete, again encountering heavy weather, and there they lay under the lee of the island till they got a fair wind for Acre in Palestine, where they arrived early on a Friday morning.[1]

[1] The text says only *Föstumorgin snemma*, "Friday morning early," but it was probably Good Friday morning, as that was the day by which all pilgrims desired to be in the Holy Land.

There they landed after their long voyage, but sickness, as was not unlikely, broke out among them, and many died. From Acre earl Rognvald and his men visited all the "halidoms" or holy places in Jewry, and as we have already seen bathed in Jordan, and swam across it, as it seems on St. Laurence's Day, August 10th, 1152. Soon after that they left the Holy Land and completed their adventures by a visit to the city of cities, Constantinople. On their way thither they came in the autumn to a place which is in its way as puzzling as Nerbon. This was "Imbolum," which some have thought to be the island of Imbros, while the late Gudbrand Vigfusson thought it to be only a distortion of ἔμπολις, that is, the port or harbour of some town confounded by the Northmen for the name of the town itself, something in the same way as "Stamboul" has been made out of "ἐς τὰν πόλιν." In the account of their stay at this place, another puzzling word occurs in "*miðhœfi*," which the inhabitants called out to one another when they met in a narrow place. This, too, Mr. Vigfusson explains in the Icelandic Dictionary by the Greek μεταβῆθι, "get down," or "get out of the way," and whatever it was, ignorance of it caused Erling, the second in command of the expedition, a fall and roll in the mud. A more tragical event happened there in the murder of John Peter's son, the earl's brother-in-law, who seems to have been slain by some of the inhabitants after he had missed his way when drunk at night.

Leaving "Imbolum" they passed "Engilsness," or Cape St. Angelo, though another reading is Ægisness, said to be the point at the end of the Thracian Chersonese, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, where they lay some nights waiting for a fair south wind to carry them across the sea of Marmora to the great city. As soon as it came, they sailed up with great pomp, just after the pattern of king Sigurd, and when they came to Constantinople they were made much of by the emperor

Manuel and the Varangians, though the traitor Eindrid, whom they found there in great favour, did everything in his power to set men against them. About winter the earl began his voyage home, sailing first to Bulgaria and Durazzo, and thence across the Adriatic to Apulia. There he left his ships, and with the noblest of his company ended his journey home by land, clearly leaving the rest of his force to bring the ships home by sea. From Apulia he took horse and rode to Rome, where, though it is not mentioned, he no doubt got absolution for his sins. From Rome he went "Rome way," that is, by the usual route of pilgrims to that city, and so passing through Germany he came to Denmark and to Norway. No wonder after such a voyage and such exploits men were glad to see them safe back, and thought that their voyage had been most glorious, and they were much greater men then than they had been before. This must have been early in 1153. Many things kept earl Rognvald most of that year in Norway. When the winter was far spent he reached his realm in a merchant ship with a great train. Ships of war were being built for him in Norway, and his old ships seem never to have returned from the Mediterranean; at least they are never heard of. During his absence there had been many changes in the Orkneys, and he found a new pretender to the earldom in Erlend, the son of earl Harold smooth-tongue. Whatever they might have thought of him in Norway, earl Rognvald must have felt that to come home in a merchant ship, after having sailed from the Isles with such a goodly fleet, and to return to find strife where he had left peace, was a downfall in his position and power which it would require all his skill and tact to retrieve. How he did this and kept his predominance in the Orkneys till his death will be seen in that Story of Earl Rognvald which forms the third portion of the Orkney Sagas.

The late Mr. Vigfusson having elaborately described in the preface to the Norse text, of which the translation is contained in this volume, the process whereby he was enabled to build up from various sources the structure of the Orkneyingers' Saga, and having also most carefully examined and estimated the value which, in point of historical credibility, attaches to each fragment, it is unnecessary for the translator to add anything to the information which has already been laid before the student of this period of English History. It may, however, be pointed out that this volume and the translation of the Hacon Saga and its Appendices should, with the Norse text and Mr. Vigfusson's laborious introductions, be treated as a whole, as between them they contain nearly all that is known from northern sources as to the dominion claimed and exercised by the Northmen over portions of Great Britain from the reign of Harold Fairhair, in the latter half of the ninth century, until the collapse of King Hacon's great expedition to Scotland in 1263.

THE ORKNEYINGERS' SAGA.

Mythical.

THERE was a king named Fornjot, he ruled over those lands which are called Finland and Kvenland; that is to the east of that bight of the sea which goes northward to meet Gandvik; that we call the Helsingbight. Fornjot had three sons; one was named Hler, whom we call Ægir, the second Logi, the third Kari; he was the father of Frost, the father of Snow the old, his son's name was Thorri; he (Thorri) had two sons, one was named Norr and the other Gorr; his daughter's name was Goi. Thorri was a great sacrificer, he had a sacrifice every year at midwinter; that they called Thorri's sacrifice; from that the month took its name. One winter there were these tidings at Thorri's sacrifice, that Goi was lost and gone, and they set out to search for her, but she was not found. And when that month passed away Thorri made them take to sacrifice, and sacrifice for this, that they might know surely where Goi was hidden away. That they called Goi's sacrifice, but for all that they could hear nothing of her. Four winters after those brothers vowed a vow that they would search for her; and so share the search between them, that Norr should search on land, but Gorr should search the outscars and islands, and he went on board ship. Each of those brothers had many men with him. Gorr held on with his ships out along the sea-bight, and so into Alland's[1] sea; after that he views the Swedish scars far and wide, and all the isles that lie in the East salt sea; after that to the Goth-

Fornjot, king of Finland.

Thorri, king of Finland.

Goi, Thorri's daughter, lost.

Her brother's search for her.

[1] The sea in which are the Åland Isles in the Gulf of Bothnia.

Mythical. land scars, and thence to Denmark, and views there all the isles; he found there his kinsmen, they who were come from Hler the old out of Hler's isle,[1] and he held on then still with his voyage and hears nothing of his sister. But Norr his brother bided till snow lay on the heaths, and it was good going on snow-shoon. After that he fared forth from Kvenland and inside the sea-bight, and they came thither where those men were who are called Lapps, that is at the back of Finmark. But the Lapps wished to forbid them a passage, and there arose a battle; and that might and magic followed Norr and his men; that their foes became as swine[2] as soon as they heard the war-cry and saw weapons drawn, and the Lapps betook themselves to flight. But Norr fared thence west on the Keel,[3] and was long out, so that they knew nothing of men, and shot beasts and birds for meat for themselves; they fared on till they came where the waters turned to the westward from the fells. Then they fared along with the waters, and came to a sea; there before them was a firth as big as it were a sea-bight; there were mickle tilths, and great dales came down to the firth. There was a gathering of folk against them, and they straightway made ready to battle with Norr, and their quarrel fared as was to be looked for. All that folk either fell or fled, but Norr and his men overcame them as weeds over cornfields. Norr fared round all the firth and laid it under him, and made himself king over those districts that lay there inside the firth. Norr tarried there the summer over till it snowed upon the heaths; then he shaped his course up along the dale which goes south from the firth; that firth is now called Drontheim. Some of his men he lets fare the coast way round Mæren; he laid under him all

Gorr seeks for Goi by sea, and Norr by land.

Gorr cannot find Goi, but Norr finds a new land.

[1] Now Læssö in the Cattegat.

[2] That is, were panic-stricken and rushed wildly about.

[3] *Keel*] The ridge of mountains which forms the watershed, backbone, or *keel*, between Sweden and Norway.

whithersoever he came. And when he comes south over the fell that lay to the south of the dalebight, he went on still south along the dales, until he came to a great water which they called Mjösen. Then he turns west again on to the fell, because it had been told him that his men had come off worsted before that king whose name was Sokni. Then they came into that district which they called Valders. Thence they fared to the sea, and came into a long firth and a narrow, which is now called Sogn; there was their meeting with Sokni, and they had there a mickle battle, because their witchcraft had no hold on Sokni. Norr went hard forward, and he and Sokni came to hand-strokes. There fell Sokni and many of his folk. Mythical. Norr slays Sokni.

2. After that Norr fared on into the firth that goes north from Sogn. There Sokni had ruled before in what is now called Sokni's dale. There Norr tarried a long time, and that is now called Norafirth. There came to meet him Gorr his brother, and neither of them had then heard anything of Goi. Gorr too had laid under him all the outer land as he had fared from the south, and then those brothers shared the lands between them. Norr had all the mainland, but Gorr shall have all those isles between which and the mainland he passes in a ship with a fixed rudder. And after that Norr fares to the Uplands, and came to what is now called Heidmörk[1]; there that king ruled whose name was Hrolf of the Hill; he was the son of Svadi the giant from north of the Dovrefell. Hrolf had taken away from Kvenland Goi, Thorri's daughter; he went at once to meet Norr, and offered him single combat; they fought long together and neither was wounded. After that they made their quarrel up, and Norr got Hrolf's sister, but Hrolf got Goi to wife. Thence Norr turned back to the realm which he had laid under him, that he called Norway; Gorr and Norr meet, but neither has found Goi. They share the new land between them. Norr hears how Hrolf of the Hill has taken away Goi. They fight and make peace.

[1] Now Hedemark.

Mythical. Norr names the new land Norway.

he ruled that realm while he lived, and his sons after him, and they shared the land amongst them, and so the realms began to get smaller and smaller as the kings got more and more numerous, and so they were divided into provinces.

Strife between Norr's sons and Gorr's sons.

3. Gorr had the isles, and for that he was called a sea-king; his sons were they Heiti and Beiti, they were sea-kings and mighty overbearing men. They made many inroads on the realm of Norr's sons, and they had many battles, and now one, now the other won the day. Beiti ran into Drontheim and warred there; he lay where it is now called Beitsea and Beitstede; thence he made them drag his ship from the innermost bight of Beitstede, and so north over Elduneck, that is where the Naumdales come down from the north. He sat himself on the poop and held the tiller in his hand, and claimed for his own all that land that then lay on the larboard, and that is many tilths and much land. Heiti, Gorr's son, was father of Sveiði the sea-king, the father of Halfdan the old, the father of Ivar the Uplanders' earl, the father of Eystein the noisy, the father of earl Rognvald the mighty and the wise in council.[1]

Earl Rognvald the mighty sprung from Gorr.

Harold, fair-hair king of Norway, A.D. 868–931.

4. Earl Rognvald joined Harold fair-hair when he seized the land, but he (Harold) gave him lordship over both the Mæren and Romsdale[2]; he had to wife Ragnhilda the daughter of Hrolf nosy; their son was Hrolf who won Normandy, he was so tall that horses could not carry him; for that he was called Ganging-Hrolf; from him are come the Rouen Jarls and the English Kings; their son was also Ivar, and Thorir the silent. Rognvald had also base-born sons, their names were Hallad and Hrollaug and Einar,

[1] "He was called Rognvald the "mighty and wise in council, and "men say both were true names." R.L.

[2] "Both the Mæren" are North and South Mæren, which are divided the one from the other by the Romsdale firth. They stretch north-eastward along the coast from Stadt to Naumdale."

he was the youngest. Harold fair-hair fared one summer west across the sea to chastise the Vikings, when he was weary at the peacelessness of those who harried in Norway in summer, but were in the winter in Shetland or the Orkneys. He laid under him Shetland and the Orkneys and the Southern Isles; he fared west too as far as Man, and laid waste the tilths of Man. He had there many battles, and took as his own lands so far west that no king of Norway has ever owned land further west since. And in one battle, Ivar, son of earl Rögnvald, fell. But when king Harold sailed from the west, then he gave to earl Rognvald, as an atonement for his son, Shetland and the Orkneys; but earl Rognvald gave both lands to Sigurd his brother: he was one of king Harold's forecastle men. The king gave Sigurd the title of earl when he went from the west, and Sigurd stayed behind there in the west.

9th century. King Harold fair-hair and earl Rognvald fare to Shetland, the Orkneys, and the Southern isles.

The king gives Shetland and the Orkneys to the earl, and he gives them to his brother Sigurd.

5. Earl Sigurd made himself a mighty chief; he joined his fellowship with Thorstein the red, son of Olaf the white and Aud the deep-minded[1], and they won all Caithness and much else of Scotland, Moray and Ross; there he caused to be built a burg southward of Moray. These two agreed between themselves to meet, Sigurd and Melbricta toothy the Scot-earl, that they should meet and settle their quarrel at a given place, each with forty men. And when the day named came, Sigurd thought to himself that the Scots were faithless. He made them mount eighty men on forty horses; and when Melbricta got to see them, he said to his men: "Now are we cheated by Sigurd, for "I see two feet of a man on each horse's side, and "the men must be twice as many again as the "steeds that bear them. Let us now harden our "hearts, and let us see that each has a man for "himself ere we die;" and they got ready after that. And when Sigurd saw their plan, he said to his

A.D.c.880.

Earl Sigurd and Melbricta toothy the Scot earl.

Sigurd's treachery and Melbricta's death.

[1] Fl. reads "very wealthy," as Aud was more commonly called.

9th century. men: "Now half of our force shall get off horseback, "and come on them in flank when the battle is "joined; but we will ride at them as hard as we can, "and break in sunder their array." And so they met, and there was a hard battle, and not long ere Melbricta fell and his followers, and Sigurd caused the heads to be fastened to his horses' cruppers as a glory for himself. And then they rode home, and boasted of their victory. And when they were come on the way, then Sigurd wished to spur the horse with his foot, and he struck his calf against the tooth which stuck out of Melbricta's head and grazed it; and in that wound sprung up pain and swelling, and that led him to his death. And Sigurd the mighty is buried under a "how" at Ekkjalsbakka[1]. Guttorm was the name of Sigurd's son; he ruled the lands one winter, and died childless. And when earl Rognvald of Mæren learnt the death of that father and son, he sent his son Hallad west, and king Harold gave him the title of earl. And when Hallad came west, he sate down in Hrossey, but Vikings went about the isles and over in Caithness; they slew and robbed men. But when the yeomen brought their scathe before earl Hallad, then he thought it hard to right their lot, and he grew weary of the dignity; he turned himself out of the earldom, and took up his freehold right, and went back to Norway; and his journey was thought the greatest mark for mockery.

His death avenged on Sigurd.

Earl Guttorm.

Earl Hallad.

His disgrace.

Thorri tree-beard and Kalf Skurvy, two Vikings, seize the isles.

6. Two Dansk Vikings set themselves down in the lands; the name of the one was Thorir tree-beard, but the other's Kalf Skurvy; and when earl Rognvald learnt this, he took it very ill to heart, and fetched before him his sons Thorir and Hrollaug. Hrolf was then out warring. Rögnvald asked which of them would go west into the isles. Thorir bade him see about his passage. "So says my mind about this,"

[1] The banks of the Oikel in Sutherland.

says the earl, "that thy thriving will be most here, 9th century.
"and thy ways lie not hence." Then Hrollaug asked,
"Wilt thou that I go?" The earl says, "Not for
"thee will the earldom be destined, and the spirits
"that follow thee lie towards Iceland; there wilt thou
"increase thy race and be a famous man in that
"land." Then Einar went forward, the youngest of Rognvald
"his sons, and said, "Wilt thou that I go to the sends Einar west
"isles? I will promise that which will seem to thee to be earl.
"the best service, this, that I will never come back
"into thy eyesight; besides I have here little good
"to part from, and it is not to be looked for that
"my thriving will be less anywhere else than here."
The earl says, "Unlikely art thou for a chief for thy
"mother's sake, for she is thrall-born on all sides,
"but true it is that I should think it all the better
"that thou goest soon away and comest late back."
Rögnvaldr gave Einar a ship of twenty benches fully
manned, but king Harold gave him the title of earl.

7. Einar sailed west to Shetland, and there folk gathered to him; after that he went south into the Orkneys, and held on at once to meet Kalf and his companion. There a battle arose, and both those Einar slays the Vikings. Vikings fell. Then this stave was sung:

"He gave Treebeard to Trolls.
"Turf-Einar slew Skurvy."

After that he laid the lands under him, and made himself the greatest chief. He first of men found out Einar, first of men, how to cut turf out of the earth for firewood on cuts turf. Turfness in Scotland, for they were ill off for wood in the isles. Einar was a tall man and ugly, one-eyed, and yet the sharpest-sighted of men.

8. When the sons of Harold fair-hair had grown A.D. c.900. to man's estate, they became most overbearing men and unruly within the land; they fell on the king's earls, some they slew, but some they drove from their owndoms. Snowfrid's sons, Halfdan long-leg, and

9th century. Halfdan long-leg and Gudred the bright, king Harold's sons, slay earl Rognvald.

Gudred the bright, fell on earl Rognvald of Mæren, and slew him, and took to themselves his realm. But when king Harold heard that, he grew very wrath, and went out against his sons. Halfdan rushed on ship-board and sailed west across the sea, but Gudred gave himself up to his father's power. King Harold gave Thorir as an atonement for his father, Alofa harvest-heal his daughter, and the title of earl, and all that his father left behind him. Halfdan long-leg came into the Orkneys, and as soon as it was known that a son of king Harold was come thither, then men became full of fear. Some became Halfdan's liegemen, but earl Einar fled away out of the isles and up into Scotland. Halfdan laid the isles under him, and made himself king over them. Einar came back that same year, and he and Halfdan met; there arose then a great battle, and Einar gained the victory, but Halfdan leapt overboard in the dusk at eventide. Then Einar sang a stave:

Haldan flies to the Orkneys, and turns out Einar.

They fight, and Einar defeats Halfdan and avenges his father.

" I see not from Hrolf's hand,
" Nor Hrollaug's eke, fly
" Dart on the foeman flock,
" Father-vengeance befits us;
" But while we the battle
" This even urged on,
" Earl Thorir in Mæren
" O'er mead-cup sits mute."

Einar offers up Halfdan to Odin.

Next morning when it was light they went to look for runagate men among the isles if any had got away; and each was slain on the spot as he stood. Then earl Einar took to saying these words: " I know not " what I see in Rinansey, sometimes it lifts itself up, but " sometimes it lays itself down, that is either a bird " or a man, and we will go to it." There they found Halfdan long-leg, and Einar made them carve an eagle on his back with a sword, and cut the ribs all from the backbone, and draw the lungs there out,

and gave him to Odin for the victory he had won[1] Then Einar sung this: 9th century.

Einar sings songs of triumph over Halfdan.

" Man broad-bearded oft is outlawed,
" Many a one, for stealing sheep;
" But in isles here I for felling
" Mighty Harold's youthful son:
" Risk hangs o'er me, say the freemen,
" From the king so courage-full,
" Harold's shield I've hewn a hole in,
" None can call that dint in doubt."

And again this:

" Ever am I glad since spears,
" —Good 'tis daring deeds to do,—
" Spears of warriors fond of fight,
" Bit the boy-son of the king;
" Him I hide not they mislike,
" There flew gray across the isles
" Bird that feasts on body-wounds,
" Wounds of Halfdan, joy of hawks."

After that he made them cast Halfdan's "how," and sang: Einar casts Halfdan's "how."

" Wreakt I reckon Rognvald's death,
" Right in this the Norns have shapen.
" Now the people's prop hath fallen
" To my fourth share of revenge;
" Scatter stones ye lissom lads,
" For a victory we have won,
" Scatt to Long-legs here I scatter,
" Scatt of stones of grit so hard."

And when this news was heard in Norway, then his brothers took it very ill, and vowed a vow to Halfdan's brothers and king Harold vow vengeance on Einar.

[1] The Run. Lex. quotes this passage thus: "Then earl Einar "went to Halfdan and carved a "blood-eagle on his back in this "wise, that he thrust a sword "into his trunk by the backbone "and cut all the ribs away, from "the backbone down to the loins, "and drew the lungs out there," "omitting the interesting words as to the sacrifice to Odin.

9th century. fare to the Orkneys and avenge him, but king Harold made them put off their voyage. Einar sung when he heard of their vow:

"For my life forsooth are many
"Eager, as I hear them say,
"Mighty men of no mean race,
"From divers mansions of the earth;
"But for that they do not know,
"These, until they lay me low,
"Which of us the eagle's claws
"Shall bow beneath ere all be o'er."

King Harold and Einar make up their quarrel. But sometime after king Harold fared west across the sea and came to the isles. Einar fled away out of the isles and over to Caithness; after that men came between them and they made up their quarrel. King Harold laid a fine upon the isles, and bade them pay

Einar pays the Orkneyinger's fine, and takes their freehold rights. sixty marks of gold. Earl Einar offered to bring out the fine alone, and then to own all the allodial holdings, and the freeholders were willing to do that; for the wealthy thought they would be able to buy back their holdings, but the poor had no money to pay the fine with. Einar paid up the fine, and so it was long after that the earls had all the allodial lands, till earl Sigurd gave back to the Orkneyingers their allodial lands. King Harold fared back to

Einar's death. Norway, but earl Einar ruled over the Orkneys a long time, and died of sickness. He had three sons.

Eric blood axe king of Norway, 932–934. One's name was Arnkell, another Erlend, a third Thorfinn skull-splitter. When Harold the fair-haired breathed his last, Eric blood-axe was king two winters.

Then came Hacon Athelstane's foster-child from England, but Eric fared out of the land. He sailed west over the sea, and harried in Scotland and England. But when king Athelstane heard that he sent men to Eric, and offered to give him some land; he said he had been a great friend of king Harold, and said that he would show that by honouring his son. He said also that he would set him at one with king Hacon his foster son. King Eric accepted this choice, and he gave him Northumberland

to rule over; that is a fifth of England. But for that, Eric had little land and many men, he grew short of money. For that he harried during the summers, but in the winters he sat at home on his lands; he kept on doing that while king Athelstane lived. After him his brother Edmund took the realm; he was not such a friend of the Northmen as king Athelstane, he thought it ill that Eric should have Northumberland. And one spring king Eric fared north along Scotland, and thence to the Orkneys, and took with him the earls of the Orkneys, the sons of Turf-Einar, Arnkell and Erlend. Thence he fared to the Southern Isles, and there too he got a great force. Thence he fared to Ireland and hairred, and he did the like in Bretland (Wales). Thence he fared to England, and there he harried as he had done elsewhere. Olaf was the name of the king whom Edmund had set there to ward the land. But for that Eric had a great force, he landed and went up away from his ships. Olaf also gathered an overwhelming force and fared against king Eric, and there was a mighty battle. At the beginning of the day the Englishmen fell fast, but where one fell three came in his stead. But towards the close of the day the loss of men turned on the side of the Northmen, and the end of it was that king Eric fell and five kings with him. One of them was called Guthrum; there fell also the earls Arnkell and Erlend, the sons of Turf-Einar. But when queen Gunnhilda and her sons were ware that Eric had fallen and that he had before harried the land of the king of England, they thought they knew that there was no hope of peace for them in England; so they busked them in haste for the Orkneys. Thorfinn Skullsplitter was then earl there. Then the sons of Gunnhilda took the isles under them, and were there in the winters but fared a-warring in the summers. But while Gunnhilda and her sons were in the Orkneys, then they heard that there was strife between the king of the Danes and king Hacon Athelstane's foster-child. Then they thought there was some hope that they might get help from Harold Gorm's son. Then they began their voyage to the Dane king. But before they fared out of the Orkneys they gave away Ragnhilda, the daughter of king Eric and Gunnhilda, to Arnfinn the son of earl Thorfinn, and then Thorfinn took up his seat (established his rule) in the isles.[1]

10th century.

[1] The text of this account of Eric blood-axe has been turned into Icelandic from the Danish Translation, aided by the Heimskringla. In Fl. it is abridged thus: "Then came Hacon "Athelstane's foster-child into the "land, but Eric fled away as is "before said. Earls Arnkell and "Erlend, sons of Turf-Einar, fell "in England with King Eric blood-

10th century. Earl Havard the harvest-happy.

9. Thorfinn had five sons. The name of the first was Havard the harvest happy, the second was Hlodver, the third Ljot, the fourth Skuli, the fifth Arnfinn, Ragnhilda Eric's daughter wrought her husband Arnfinn's death at Murkle in Caithness; but she gave herself away to Havard the harvest-happy, his brother. Havard took the earldom, and was a good chief; and in his days were good harvests. Einar oily-tongue was the name of a man, Havard's sister's son. He was a great chief, and had a great following, and went a-warring in the summers. He was guest at a feast at Havard's, and at that feast they, Ragnhilda and Einar, talked much together. She said such a man was well worthy to be a chief, and better fitted for the earldom than Havard, his kinsman; she called, too, that woman well wedded who had such a husband. Einar bade her not to take to such words; said he (Havard) was the noblest man in the isles, and she full well wedded. Ragnhild answers: "Short henceforth shall be my and "Havard's wedded life; true it is that there must "be men in the isles who will not let everything "grow in their eyes, even if thou puttest aside the "honour from thee." With such upbraidings Einar's "mind turned to greed and guile against the earl his kinsman, and they settled it between them that he should slay the earl, but that she should be wedded to him. And sometime after Einar busked himself to that journey, and then a spaeman spoke, who was with him: "Don't do this work to-day, but rather to-morrow, else "kin-killing will last long in your family." Einar made as though he heard it not. Havard was then at Stoneness[2] in Hrossey; there they met one another, and

Einar oily-tongue and Ragnhilda.

Ragnhilda persuades Einar to slay Havard.

Einar slays Havard, and Ragnhilda breaks faith with him.

"axe, as is written before. Gunnhilda and her sons fared afterwards to the Orkneys, and took them under her, and dwelt there awhile. Then they fared to Denmark, but before they went "gave away Ragnhilda, daughter of Eric and Gunnhilda, to Arnfinn, son of earl Thorfinn, and earl Thorfinn established himself in the isles."

[2] Now Stennis.

there was a hard battle, and not long ere the earl fell. That place is now called Havard's crofts. And when these tidings were heard, Einar was thought to have been a mickle dastard for this deed; then Ragnhilda would have no fellowship with him, and said it was all a lie that she had ever given her word. Then she sent for Einar hardchaft; he was son of another sister of Havard's; and when they met, she said 'twas shame on such kinsmen of his who would not avenge him, and said she would do anything that the earl might be avenged. "Besides, too," she said, "it is "well known that he must be most honoured by all "good men who avenges the earl, and that man, too, "will have won his way to his realm." Einar answers: "About this it is said," he says, "that ye sometimes "say other things than what you have in your heart, "but whoso does this work must have for it that thou "holdest in hand for him the realm and those other "things too, which will not be thought less worth "having." So they break off their speech. After this Einar hardchaft fell on Einar oily-tongue, and slew him; but Ragnhilda sent for Ljot their (Havard's and Arnkell's) brother, and wedded him. Ljot took the earldom, and became a mighty chief. Einar hardchaft had now slain his kinsman, but was no nearer the earldom than before. Now he is very ill pleased with his lot, and would gather men to him, and seek to have the isles by main force; but he was ill off for men, for the Orkneyingers would only serve the sons of Thorfinn skull-splitter; and sometime after the earl let Einar hardchaft be slain.

10th century.

Ragnhilda and Einar hardchaft.

Einar hardchaft slays Einar oily-tongue, Ragnhilda breaks faith with him and weds Ljot.

Ljot slays Einar hardchaft.

10. Skuli, Ljot's brother, fared away up into Scotland, and there the title of earl was given him by the Scot-king. After that he came down on Caithness, and gathered folk to him there; and thence he fared into the isles, and there strove against his brother Ljot for the realm. Ljot gathers folk, and fared to meet Skuli, and had more men on his side; but when they met,

Earl Hacon rules Norway, 975–995.

Ljot and Skuli strive for power.

10th century. Skuli would hear of nothing but fighting, so there was a hard battle, and Ljot won the victory; but Skuli fled over to the Ness and up into Scotland, and thither Ljot fares after him, and stayed there a while, and had more men on his side. And then Skuli rides down from Scotland with a mighty host, which the Scot-king and earl Macbeth had given him, and he and Ljot met in the Dales in Caithness, and there arose a mickle

Battle between Ljot and Skuli. battle. And the Scots were most hot at the beginning of the fight. Earl Ljot bade his men to keep under their shields, but still to stand as fast as they could. But when the Scots could do nothing, Ljot egged on his men, and was himself the hottest. And when things had stood so for a while, then the array of those Scots was broken, and after that they fly;

Skuli's defeat and death. but Skuli kept up the battle, though he fell at last. Ljot took Caithness under him, and then there was strife between the King of Scots and earl Ljot, for the Scots were ill pleased at their bad luck. When earl Ljot was in Caithness with few men, then earl Macbeth came down from Scotland with a mighty host, and he

Battle between Ljot and Macbeth. and Ljot met on Skidmoor in Caithness; and earl Ljot had no great force against them, but still Ljot went so fast forward, that the Scots they yielded before him, and there was a short battle ere they fled, who chose life, but many were wounded. Ljot turned back with

Ljot's death. victory, but his men were much wounded. Earl Ljot also had gotten that wound which led him to his death, and his death was much mourned.

Earl Hlodver. 11. Hlodver Thorfinn's son took the earldom after Ljot, and was a great chief; he had to wife Edna, daughter

Earl Sigurd the stout. of Kjarval, the Irish king; their son was Sigurd the stout. Hlodver died of sickness, and is buried under a "how" at Hofn in Caithness. Sigurd, his son, took the earldom after him; he was a great chief and wide of lands. He held by main force Caithness against the Scots, and had a host out every summer. He harried in the Southern Isles, in Scotland and Ireland. It chanced

10th century. Finnleik the Scot-earl challenges Sigurd.

one summer that Finnleik, the Scot-earl, staked in a battle-field for Sigurd on Skidmoor by a day named, but Sigurd went to ask his mother's counsel, for she knew many things.[1] The earl told her that there would not be less odds against him than seven men for one. She answers: "I had reared thee up long in my "wool-bag had I known thou wouldest like to live for "ever; and fate rules life, but not where a man is "come; better it is to die with honour than to live "with shame. Take thou here hold of this banner "which I have made for thee with all my cunning "and I ween it will bring victory to those before "whom it is borne, but speedy death to him who "bears it." The banner was made with mickle needle-craft and famous skill. It was made in raven's shape; and when the wind blew out the banner, then it was as though the raven spread his wings for flight. Earl Sigurd was very wrath at the words of his mother, and gave the Orkneyingers their allodial holdings for their help, and so he fared to meet earl Finnleik on Skidmoor, and each drew up his host in battle array. And when the battle was joined, the banner-bearer of earl Sigurd was shot to death. The earl bade another man go and bear the banner, and after they had fought a while that man fell. So three banner-bearers of the earl fell, but he had the victory, and then the Orkneyingers got back their allodial rights.

Earl Sigurd's raven banner.

Earl Sigurd overcomes Finnleik the Scot-earl, and the Orkneyingers get back their allodial rights.

12. Olaf Tvyggvi's son was four years in warfare in the western lands since he had come from Vindland—the land of the Wends—ere he let himself be baptized in the Scilly isles. Thence he fared to England—read Ireland—and got there to wife Gyda, the daughter of Kvaran the Irish king. After that he stayed a while in Dublin until earl Hacon sent Thorir the whiner to lure him thence. Olaf sailed from the west with four ships and came first to the Orkneys. There he met earl Sigurd in Osmund's voe in South Rognvaldsey with three ships, and he was boun for warfare. King Olaf let the earl be called on board his ship and said he wished to talk with him; and when they met king Olaf

[1] That is "by witchcraft."

10th century. spoke to him, "It is my will that thou lettest thyself be baptized "and all the folk that serve thee, else thou shalt die here at "once, but I will fare with fire and flame over all the isles." But when the earl saw into what a strait he had come he gave up all his suit into the king's power. The king then let him be baptized, and took as a hostage his son whose name was Hound or Whelp, but the king let him be baptized in the name of Hlodvir. Then all the Orkneys became Christian. But king Olaf then sailed east to Norway, and Hlodvir fared with him, but he lived a short while. But after that earl Sigurd yielded no obedience to king Olaf. He went into a marriage with a daughter of Malcolm the king of the Scots, and their son was earl Thorfinn. Earl Sigurd had before had three sons who were than alive, the name of one of them was Summerled, of the second Brusi, the third Einar[1].

Earl Sigurd's sons Brusi, Summerled, Einar, and Thorfinn.

13. A little while after the agreement between king Olaf and earl Sigurd Hlodverson, the earl took to wife the daughter of Malcolm, the Scot-king, and their son was earl Thorfinn. Earl Sigurd had three other sons, one was called Brusi, the second Summerled, the third Einar wry-mouth. Five winters[2] after the battle at Svolder, earl Sigurd fared to Ireland, to help king Sigtrygg silk-beard, but he set up his elder sons over the lands, but his son Thorfin, he gave over into the hands of the Scot-king, his mother's father, to foster. But when earl Sigurd came to Ireland, he and king Sigtrygg marched with that host to meet Brian, the Irish king, and their meeting was on Good Friday. Then it fell out that there was no one left to bear the raven banner, and the earl bore it himself, and fell there, but king Sigtrygg fled. King Brian fell with victory and glory.

Battle of Svolder, 1000.

Earl Hacon's sons rule Norway, 1000-1015.

Earl Sigurd goes to Ireland to help king Sigtrygg, and falls fighting against king Brian, 1014.

14. After the fall of earl Sigurd, his sons took the realm and shared it into trithings among Summerled, Brusi, and Einar. Thorfinn was with the Scot-king

Brusi, Summerled, and Einar

[1] The true text here is preserved only in the Danish Translation, in its place Fl. has a long chapter out of the Saga of king Olaf, Tvyggvi's son, as contained in Fms. That chapter will be found in the Appendix.

[2] Thus, according to the chronology of the Icelandic writers, it was in reality fourteen years afterwards.

five winters old when his father Sigurd fell. Then the Scot-king gave Thorfinn, his daughter's son, Caithness and Sutherland and the title of earl, and set up men to rule the land with him. Earl Thorfinn was early in coming to his full growth, the tallest and strongest of men; his hair was black, his features sharp, and his brows scowling, and as soon as he grew up it was easy to see that he was forward and grasping. Those brothers, Brusi and Einar, were unlike in temper. Einar was a man stern and grasping, unfriendly, and a mighty man for war. Brusi was a meek man, he kept his feelings well in hand, and was humble, and ready-tongued. Summerled was liker to Brusi in temper; he was the eldest of those brothers, and lived shortest, and died of sickness. After his death earl Thorfinn claimed a share of the realm in the Orkneys. Einar said that Thorfinn had Caithness and Sutherland, that realm which their father had owned, and called it more than a trithing of the isles, and would not grant Thorfinn a share after Summerled; but Brusi was willing to grant it, and gave over the share for his part. "I will not," he said, "covet more of the "realm than that trithing which I own by right." Then Einar took two lots of the isles under him; then he made himself mighty, and had many followers, was oft a-warring in the summers, and had a great levy of men out of the land, but it was quite another story with the spoil. Then the freemen began to be weary of that toil; but the earl held boldly on with his burdens, and suffered no man to speak a word against him. Einar was the most overbearing of men. A great dearth arose in his realm from the toil and outgoings which the freemen had; but in that lot of the land that Brusi had was great peace and plenty, and the freemen had an easy life; for that he had many friends.

11th century. share the realm among them.

Summerled dies, and Thorfinn claims a share of the realm.

Earl Einar's exactions.

15. There was a powerful and wealthy man named Amund, he dwelt at Hrossey, at Sandwick on Lop-

Thorkell, Amund's son, pleads

11th century. the freemen's cause.

ness. His son's name was Thorkell, the properest man of all men who were then growing up in the Orkneys. Amund was a wise man, and one of the men most esteemed in the islands. It fell out one spring that the earl had a mighty levy, as was his wont, but the freemen grumbled and took it ill, and brought the matter before Amund, and bade him speak to the earl for a little forbearance. Amund said the earl would turn a deaf ear, "and little will come of it; "as it is the earl and I are good friends, but me- "thinks there is great risk if we two should come to "a quarrel with our tempers. No," says he, "I will "have nothing to do with it." Then they told their story to Thorkell; he was loath to do anything, but still promised them his good offices, after being egged on by the men. Amund thought he had been too hasty in promising. But when the earl held a Thing, then Thorkell spoke on behalf of the freemen, told the need of the men, and bade the earl spare his people.

Einar listens to him once, but quarrels with him when he pleads their cause again.

Einarr answers well, and says he will give heed to his words: "I had meant now to have six ships out "of the land, but now no more than three shall go; "but as for thee, Thorkell, don't now ask this any "more." The freemen thanked Thorkell well for his help. The earl fared away on a Viking voyage, and came back at autumn. But after that, in the spring, the earl had again a levy and held a Thing with the freemen. Then Thorkell spoke again, and bade the earl spare the freemen. The earl answers wrathfully, and said that the lot of the freemen should much worsen for his speech. He made himself so wood and wrath, that he said they should not be both there another spring safe and sound at the Thing. And so the Thing broke up. But when Amund became ware of what had passed between the earl and Thorkell, he begged Thorkell to go away. So he fared over to Caithness to earl Thorfinn, and was there long afterwards, and fostered him, when the earl was young,

Thorkell flies to Caithness and fosters earl Thorfinn.

and was afterwards called Thorkell fosterer; and he was a man of mark. Many were the men of might who fled away out of the Orkneys for the overbearing of earl Einarr. Most fled to earl Thorfinn, some to Norway and to divers lands. 11th century.

16. As soon as earl Thorfinn was grown up, then he sent a message to Einar his brother, and asked of him that share of the realm which he thought belonged to him in the Orkneys, but that was a trithing. Einar was in no hurry to lessen himself so. But when earl Thorfinn hears that, then he calls out force from Caithness. But when earl Einar was ware of that, then he gathers force, and goes against Thorfinn, and means to fight with him. Earl Brusi also gathers force, goes to meet them, and brings about an agreement of peace between them. That was the agreement that Thorfinn should have a trithing of the realm in the Orkneys which he owned by right, but earl Brusi and earl Einarr laid their lots together. Einar was to have the leadership over them, and the wardship of the land. But if either of them died before the other, then that one of them who lived longer should take the lands after the other. But that settlement was thought to be unfair, for Brusi had a son, whose name was Rognvald, but Einar was sonless. Earl Thorfinn sets men to keep watch and ward over that realm which he owned in the Orkneys; but he was most often in Caithness.

Earl Thorfinn claims a trithing of the isles from Einar.

Earl Brusi makes peace between them.

Brusi and Einar throw their lots together, and Thorfinn has a trithing.

17. Earl Einar[1] was most often in the summers in warfare round Ireland and Scotland and Wales. It happened one summer when he was warring on Ireland that he fought in Ulfreksfirth[2] with Konufogur the Irish king. Earl Einar there got a mighty defeat and loss of men. The next summer after Eyvind

Saint Olaf. king of Norway, 1015-1030.

[1] The Fl. begins here a new section of the Saga thus: "The chapter of "those Orkneyingers. A mighty "man of war in the Orkneys was "earl Einar, earl Sigurd's son. He "was thought no fair man. He "warred in Ireland, etc."

[2] Lough Larne in Ireland.

11th century. Urarhorn fared from the west from Ireland, and meant to steer for Norway. The weather was sharp, and there was a great storm. Then Eyvind put in to Osmund's

Earl Einar slays Eyvind Urarhorn. voe[1], and lay there weather-bound a while. But when earl Einar learns that, then he went thither with a great force, and he took there Eyvind, and made them slay him, but gave peace to most of his men. They fared home to Norway about autumn, and went to find king Olaf, and told him how Eyvind had been taken off. The king answers little about it, and yet it could be found out that he thought this a mickle manscathe, and wrought more against himself than any one else. The king was short of words whenever he thought

Earl Thorfinn sends Thorkell into the isles, and earl Einar plots his death. anything much against his mind. Earl Thorfinn sent Thorkell, his fosterer, out into the isles to get together his scatts and tolls. Earl Einar laid at Thorkell's door much of that rising against him which had happened when earl Thorfinn laid his claim out in the isles. Thorkell fared hastily out of the isles over to the Ness, and told earl Thorfinn that he had become sure of this,

Earl Thorfinn sends Thorkell to king Olaf, in Norway. that earl Einar meant death for him, if his friends or kinsmen had not given him warning. "Now I must "choose one of these two things, either to let the earl's "and my meeting be so that we may settle our busi- "ness once for all; or that other to fare further away, "and thither where the earl shall never have power "over me." Earl Thorfinn was very eager that he should fare east to Norway to meet King Olaf. "Thou "wilt," says the earl, "be made much of wherever thou "art with honourable men; but I know both your "tempers, the earl's and thine, that ye two would be "but a scant time before ye came to blows." Then Thorkell busked him to go to king Olaf, and fared about autumn to Norway, and was with king Olaf that winter in great love; the king took Thorkell much into his counsel. He thought, as was true, that Thor-

[1] Now Osmondswall in the Orkneys.

kell was a wise and very able man. The king found out from his talk that he was very uneven in his stories about the earls, and that he was a great friend of Thorfinn, but slow to praise earl Einar. And early next spring the king sent a ship west over the sea to find earl Thorfinn, and this bidding, by word of mouth, that the earl should come to see him. He did not lay the journey under his pillow, for words of friendship came along with the message. 11th century. King Olaf's message to earl Thorfinn.

18. Earl Thorfinn fared east to Norway and came to see king Olaf. He got there a good welcome, and stayed there long on in the summer. But when he made ready to go west, then king Olaf gave him a great and good longship, with all her tackling. Thorkell fosterer made up his mind to go with earl Thorfinn, and the earl gave him that ship which he had brought from the west that summer. The king and the earl parted the best of friends with great love. Earl Thorfinn came back about autumn to the Orkneys. But when earl Einar heard this, he got many men together and lay aboard ship. Earl Brusi went to meet those brothers, and tried to bring about a settlement between them, and so it came about that they were set at one again, and bound that with oaths. Thorkell fosterer was then to be taken into that settlement, and into friendship with earl Einar, and that was also said that each of them should make the other a feast, and the earl was to come first to pay Thorkell a visit at Sandwick. But when the earl was there at the feast, he was treated in the bravest way. The earl was not cheerful. There was a mickle hall there, and doors at both ends. That day on which the earl was to go away, and was busking himself, Thorkell was to go along with him to the feast, Thorkell sent men forward to spy out on the road along which they were to fare that day; but when they came back they told Thorkell that they found there three Earl Thorfinn goes to see king Olaf. Thorkell fosterer returns to the Orkneys with him. Earl Brusi makes peace between Einar and Thorfinn and Thorkell. A.D. 1020. (Annals.)

11th century. ambushes and men with weapons; "and we think, "to say thee sooth, that treachery must lie under "this." But when Thorkell learned that, he put off his busking and got his men together. The earl bade him busk himself and said 'twas high time to ride. Thorkell said he had much to look after. He went sometimes out and sometimes in. Fires were on the floor. Then Thorkell went in at one of the doors and with him a man who is named Hallvard. He was a man from Iceland, an Eastfirther by kin. He shut the door after them. Thorkell went inside along the hall between the fire and where the earl sate. The earl asked, "Art thou boun now?" Thorkell answers, "I am boun now." Then Thorkell hewed at the earl on his head. The earl fell forward stooping on the floor. Hallvard said, "Here I see the worst of all wrestling "tricks, that ye do not draw the earl from the fire." Then he thrust an Irish axe[1] under the nape of the earl's neck, and jerked him up on the bench. Then both those comrades Thorkell and Hallvard, went out hastily, by the other doorway facing that by which they went in, and there outside stood Thorkell's men armed to the teeth. The earl's men looked to him, but he was then dead, and the hands of all failed them to avenge him; besides, it was all done in a hurry, for no man looked for such a deed from Thorkell; for they all thought that it would be, as was already agreed, that there should be friendship between the earl and Thorkell. Most of the men too were weaponless who were inside the hall, and many of them good friends of Thorkell of yore. It happened too by that fate by which longer life was allotted to Thorkell. When Thorkell came out he had no less force than the earl's men. Then

Thorkell fosterer slays earl Einar, 1020, and flies to king Olaf in Norway.

[1] In the original *Sparða*, some sort of bill or pole-axe. The word occurs as "spart" or "spert" in mediæval lists of arms in England. See Hist. Com. Report for 1877. I. p. 491.

Thorkell fared to his ship, but the earl's men went away. Thorkell sailed away that day east into the sea, and that was after the winter had begun. Then they came safe and sound to Norway. Thorkell went at once to find king Olaf, and he got there a good welcome. The king showed himself well pleased at this deed. Thorkell was with him that winter. 11th century.

19. After the falling away of earl Einar, earl Brusi took that lot of the lands which earl Einar had before had, for it was with many men's witness on what terms Brusi and Einar had gone into partnership. It seemed most right to earl Thorfinn that each of them should have half the isles; but still Brusi had that winter both lots of the isles. But the spring after Thorfinn laid claim to the land against Brusi, saying that he will have half the lands, but Brusi would not say yes to that; so they summoned meetings about those matters. Then their friends went about to settle the business, and so it came out not only that Thorfinn would let nothing else please him than to have half the isles; but he says at the same time that Brusi, with the temper he had, had no need of more than a trithing. "I grudged not," says he [Brusi], "to have a trithing "of the land which I took after my father as my "heritage; and no one challenged my right to that; "but now I have taken another trithing after my "brother by lawful agreement. But though I am "unable to strive in rivalry with you, kinsman, yet I "will look to some one else rather than consent to give "away my realm in such a way." When things had gone so far at that parley they parted. Earl Brusi takes two lots of the isles, but earl Thorfinn claims a half. The brothers quarrel.

But when Brusi saw that he could not stand on even feet against Thorfinn, for that he had a much greater realm, besides the trust that he had in the Scot-king, his mother's father, then he, Brusi, made up his mind to fare away out of the land east to find king Olaf, and he had with him his son Rognvald, who was then ten Earl Brusi goes to get help from king Olaf.

11th century.

winters old. But when the earl met the king, he gave him a good welcome. But when the earl unfolded his errand, and tells the king the whole story of what had happened between his brother and himself, and begged the king to lend him strength to hold his realm, he offered him at the same time in return his entire friendship. The king answers, and began first to say how Harold fair-hair had owned all the allodial land in the Orkneys, "but the earls have held it since in "fief, but never as their owndom; and that is a token," says he, "that when Eric blood-axe and his sons were "in the Orkneys, then the earls were bound to do them "service. But when Olaf, Tryggvi's son, my kinsman, "came there, then earl Sigurd, your father, made "himself his man. Now I have taken all the heritage "after him. Now I will make thee that choice that "thou becomest my man; then will I give over to thee "the isles in fief; then we two will try, if I lend thee "my strength, whether it shall stand thee in better "stead, or whether his trust in the Scot-king, to thy "brother Thorfinn. But if thou wilt not take this "choice, then must I look after those rights and "owndoms which our kinsmen have held there away "west." The earl bore these sayings in his mind, and laid them before his friends, and asked counsel of them to what he should consent, and whether he should strike a bargain with king Olaf on those terms and become his man. "But it is not at all plain to me "what my lot will be when we part, if I say nay; for "the king has made bare to me his claim, that he "thinks he owns the isles. But with his boldness of "purpose, and bearing in mind this too that we have "come here, it will be a little thing for him to do just "as he pleases with our affair." But though the earl found manifest fault with both courses, whichever way he went, still he took that choice, to lay all in the king's power, both himself and his realm. Then king Olaf

The king puts in his claim to the isles.

Earl Brusi agrees to the king's terms.

took from the earl power and lordship over all his lands of heritage, and then the earl was made the king's man, and bound that with oaths. 11th century.

20. Earl Thorfinn learnt that Brusi his brother had fared east to find king Olaf, to seek trust from him; but because Thorfinn had before fared to find king Olaf and got himself into friendship there, then he thought he had made it all right there beforehand, and knew that many there would back his cause; so earl Thorfinn takes this counsel: he makes ready his voyage as speedily as he can and fared to Norway, and thought that he should make the passage almost as soon as Brusi, and that his errand would not be brought to an end. But when Thorfinn met the king, it was another way than he had thought; for when he came to see king Olaf, all that bargain between the king and Brusi was made and struck. Besides, earl Thorfinn did not know that Brusi had given up his realm before ever earl Thorfinn had come to see king Olaf. But as soon as they met, the earl and king Olaf, then the king raised the same claim to the realm in the Orkneys which he had already made to Brusi, and bade Thorfinn do the same thing, that he should yield over to the king those lots of the lands which he already owned. The earl answers well to the king's words, and spoke so as to show that he set great store on his friendship. "And if ye, lord," said the earl, "think that ye need my help against other "chiefs, then ye have won it fully; but it is not in "my power to yield you homage, for I am already "the Scot-king's earl, and bound to do him service." But when the king found that there was drawing back in the earl's answers as to this question which he had raised, then the king spoke: "If thou, earl, "wilt not become my man, there is yet another "choice, that I set that man up over the Orkneys "whom I will, and my will then is that thou take "oath to lay no claim to their lands, and to let them

Earl Thorfinn follows Brusi to Norway. c. 1023.

King Olaf makes the same claim to earl Thorfinn, who is in doubt what to do.

11th century.

" be in peace for thee whom I set up. But if thou " wilt have none of these choices, then it must so " seem to those whom I set up, as though strife were " to be looked for them from thee; then mayest thou " not think it wonderful though the dale comes to " meet the hill."[1] The earl answers, and bade the king give him time to think over that matter. The king did so, and gave the earl time and leave to take counsel with his friends as to this. Then the earl begged the king to grant him time till the next summer, and that he might fare home first of all. "All my coun- " cillors are at home,"[2] he says, "and I am but a " child for my years' sake." But the king bade him choose one of the two courses there and then. Thorkell fosterer was then with the king; he sent men stealthily to the earl, and besought him not to think, whatever might be on his mind, of parting so with king Olaf that they were not good friends, just when he had put himself in the king's hands. He [Thorkell] thought he could see that the only choice left him was to let the king have his will in everything. It seemed to them [Thorfinn and his friends] though not at all a good choice to have no hope one's self of one's heritage, and to take an oath to the effect that they might have that realm in peace who were not born to it. But because that he thought it uncertain about his going away, then he made that choice to give himself over into the king's hand, and become his man as his brother Brusi had done. The king found out that Thorfinn was of a much higher spirit than Brusi, and for that sake he trusted Thorfinn less; the king saw too that he would think he might look for strength from the Scot-king, even though he broke this agreement; the king understood that out

Thorkell fosterer's advice.

Earl Thorfinn agrees to the king's terms.

[1] A proverb meaning that Thorfinn must not be surprised if the natural result followed.

[2] In the Runic Lex. the whole passage runs thus: "earl Thorfinn " said, as was true, that most of his " councillors were at home."

of his wisdom. Brusi went unwillingly into all the agreement, but spoke nothing but what he meant to hold; but where Thorfinn was he went gladly at everything; as soon as ever he had made up his mind what part he should take, [then he went gladly into every condition][1], and did not stickle in the least at what the king asked the first evening; but the king doubted that he must mean to go back on some of his undertakings. 11th century.

21. When king Olaf had thought over with himself the whole matter, he let them blow the trumpets for a great gathering of men, and made them call both the earls thither. Then he spoke thus: "I will now declare " before the whole people the settlement between the " Orkney earls and myself. They have now agreed to " my absolute right over the Orkneys and Shetland, " and made themselves my men, and bound that with " oaths, and I will now give them in fief, to Brusi one " trithing and to Thorfinn another as they have had " before; but that trithing which earl Einar owned, " that I make fall to me, for that sake that he slew " Eyvind Urarhorn, my henchman and dear brother in " arms. For that lot of the lands, I will take care as I " think good. That, too, I lay on both ye brethren, " my earls, that ye take an atonement from Thorkell, " Amund's son, for the slaying of your brother Einar; " and I wish to lay down the terms of the atonement " if ye will say yes to that." But it was now as it was in other things; they said yes to everything the king said. Then Thorkell went forward and bound himself by the king's award, and so that Thing broke up. King Olaf awarded an atonement for earl Einar as though for three kings' thanes, but for cause given a trithing of the fine was to fall to the ground. Earl Thorfinn begged leave of the king to go away, but as King Olaf utters his award. King Olaf's award. Earl Thorfinn goes away, and

[1] The sentence in brackets is a repetition.

11th century. Thorkell fosterer goes with him.

soon as he got that he busked him speedily. But when he was all-boun, it fell upon a day when the earl was a-drinking on his ship, that there came to him stealthily Thorkell Amund's son, and laid his head upon his knees, and bade him do with it as he would. The earl asked why he did so, "now that we "are already set at one by the king's doom. Stand "up, pray." He did so, and said, "That atonement "which the king made between us I may trust "between Brusi and me; but so far as you have any "share in it, you alone shall have your way. Though "the king has awarded me my estates and right "to stay in the Orkneys, still I know your frame of "mind so well that I can never go into the isles unless "I fare thither on your good faith. I will bind myself "to you," he says, "never to come to the Orkneys, "whatever the king may have said about that." The earl held his peace, and was slow to speak, and then he spoke thus: "Wilt thou, Thorkell, that I speak "my doom about our matter, and not rest on the

Earl Thorfinn and Thorkell fosterer.

"king's doom. Then must I have this beginning of "our atonement, that thou shallt fare with me to "the Orkneys, and be with me, and never part from "me, unless thou hast my leave; that thou shalt be "bound to guard my land, and do all things that I "will have done so long as we two both live." Thorkell answers: "That shall be in your power, lord, "as well as everything else in which I may have any "voice." Then Thorkell went up [to earl Thorfinn], and bound himself to the earl in everything that the earl laid down. The earl says that he will utter his doom as to the payment of the fine [for Einar] afterwards, but he took there and then oaths from Thorkell, and he turned him then at once to fare away with the earl. Then the earl fared away at once, as soon as ever he was boun, and he and king Olaf never saw each other more. Earl Brusi stayed then after

him, and took more time to busk himself; but ere he fared away, king Olaf had a meeting with him, and said, "It looks to me, earl, that I am like to "have thee for a faithful liegeman there away over "the western sea, and so I purpose that thou shalt "have two lots of the lands to rule over, those two "I mean which thou hadst of yore; and my will is "that thou shouldest not be a less man, nor a less "powerful, now that thou hast given thyself into my "hand, than thou wast before; but I will clench "thy faithfulness with this, that I will that thy son "Rognvald be here behind. I see then, if thou hast "my trust and two lots of the lands, that thou "mayest well hold thy own by right against earl "Thorfinn." Brusi took that with thanks to have two lots of the lands. Brusi stayed there a little while longer ere he fared away, and came about autumn west to the Orkneys. Rognvald, Brusi's son, stayed behind with king Olaf. He was of all men fairest; his hair was full and yellow, like silk. He was soon tall and strong; the most perfect man was he both for wit's sake and courtesy. He was long with king Olaf. Ottar the black makes mention of these things in that ode which he made on king Olaf:

11th century.

King Olaf's speech to earl Brusi.

Earl Brusi gets two lots of the lands, and leaves his son Rognvald with king Olaf.

Skald Ottar the black's verses on king Olaf.

"Among thy thanes are reckoned
"Bold lads of Hialti's land,
"Thou gotten hast a handy realm
"Of princes of the people;
"There was no king on earth,
"Ere thou cam'st, warlike lord,
"Who underneath his yoke could bow
"Those islands of the west."

When those brothers came west to the Orkneys, Thorfinn and Brusi, then Brusi took two lots of the lands under his lordship, but Thorfinn a trithing. He was ever in Caithness and Scotland, but set up his

Earl Brusi gives two lots of the lands up to earl Thorfinn.

11th century. men over the isles. At that time Brusi alone kept watch and ward over the isles. But in that time they were much warred on, for Northmen and Danes harried much in the west, sea-roving, and came often to the isles when they fared west, or from the west, and seized this or that ness. Brusi complained that Thorfinn had no force out to guard the Orkneys or Shetland, but kept the scatts and dues all to his share. Then Thorfinn made him that offer, that Brusi should have a trithing of the lands, but Thorfinn two lots, and alone keep watch and ward over the land. But though this arrangement was not made all at once, yet at last this settlement came about, that Brusi had a trithing and Thorfinn two lots. This was when Canute had rule in Norway, but Olaf had been forced to fly out of the land.

King Canute drives king Olaf out of Norway, 1028.

Earl Thorfinn's appearance and character. 22. Earl Thorfinn[1] made himself a great chief; he was the tallest and strongest of men, ugly, black-haired, sharp-featured, and big-nosed, and with somewhat scowling brows. He was a mighty man of strife, and greedy both of money and honour; he was lucky in battle, and skilful in war, and good in onslaught; he was then five winters old when Malcolm the Scot-king, his mother's father, gave him the title of earl and Caithness as his lordship, as was written above; but he was fourteen winters when he had war levies out of his land, and harried on the realms of other chiefs. So says Arnor Earlskald:

Arnor Earlskald's verses.

" The king amid the crash of helms
" Died red his broadsword's edge,
" Ere fifteen winters he had filled,
" Reddener of raven's feet;

[1] The Fl. heads this chapter with the following passage: " King Olaf, " Harold's son, got no service from " earl Thorfinn, since they parted " after earl Brusi and they came to " a settlement all together."

" Brave chief, of Einar's brothers last, 11th century.
" Lands good to win and guard
" He proved himself, a properer man
" Is no man 'neath the sky."

Earl Thorfinn's kinsman the Scot-king dies, and a feud arises with Karl Houndson, circa 1029.

Earl Thorfinn had much strength from his kinsman the Scot-king; it was a great help to his power in the Orkneys that that strength was so near. The Scot-king breathed his last just when those brothers, Brusi and Thorfinn, were set at one again. Then Karl Houndson took the rule over Scotland; he thought he ought to own Caithness too, like the former Scot-kings; and he would have scatt from that part of the realm as from other places, but earl Thorfinn thought he had not too great a heritage after his mother's father, though he had Caithness. He said that realm had been given to him, and he would pay no scatts for it; now out of this arose a mighty feud, and each harried the other's realm.

King Karl sets up earl Muddan in Caithness.

King Karl would set up in Caithness that chief whose name was Mumtan or Muddan; he was his sister's son, and he gave him the title of earl. Then Muddan rode down on Caithness, and gathered force together in Sutherland; then news came to earl Thorfinn; and then he drew together a host all over Caithness; there came too out from the Orkneys Thorkell fosterer, with much force to meet the earl; then Thorfinn fared to meet Muddan, and had then the greater host. And as soon as the Scots knew that they had fewer men, they would not fight,[1] and rode up back to Scotland.

Earl Thorfinn drives out Muddan and harries Scotland.

Then earl Thorfinn fared after them and laid under him Sutherland and Ross, and harried far and wide over Scotland; thence he turned back to Caithness, but Thorkell went out to the isles. The levies of the people also went home. The earl sate in Caithness at Duncansby, and had there five long-ships, and just so much force as was enough to man them well. Mud-

[1] Fl. " They were slower about an onslaught."

11th century.

dan came to see king Karl in Berwick, and tells him how his paths had not been smooth. King Karl then got very wrath when he learned that his land was harried; he went then at once on ship-board, and had eleven long-ships and much people; then he held on north along Scotland. Muddan he sent back to Caithness with a great force, and he rode the upper way through Scotland; it was so settled that he should come down thence, and then Thorfinn would be in a cleft stick. Now it must be told of Karl that he never slackened sail before he came to Caithness; and then there was scant space between him and Thorfinn. Then Thorfinn took that counsel to go on ship-board and hold out into the Pentland firth, and he meant to go to the Orkneys; by that time there was so scant space between them, that Karl and his men saw Thorfinn's sails as he sailed east across the firth, and they sailed after them at once. Thorfinn and his men had not seen their sails, and so east he steered along the isles, and meant to go to Sandwick. He ran in from the east under Deerness, and sent word at once to Thorkell that he should gather force together. Brusi had the northermost lot of the isles, and was then there. Thorfinn lay under Deerness, as was written before, and had come thither late. But next morning when it was light, the first thing they found out was that Karl and his men were rowing up to them with eleven ships. There were then two choices on hand: the one was to jump ashore and leave the ships and all his goods to his foes; the other is to put out to meet them and then let destiny have her sway. Thorfinn called then on his men, and bade them get out their weapons; he said he would not run away, and bade them row against them manfully. And after that each side lashed their ships together. Earl Thorfinn egged on his men much, and bade them be hot, and make the first bout hard. As for the Scots, he said few of them would stand. This fight was both hard and

King Karl takes earl Thorfinn unawares at Deerness.

The sea-fight off Deerness.

long, and it was long before it could be seen which way the day would turn. Of this battle Arnor makes mention in Thorfinn's ode: 11th century.

Arnor Earlskald's verses.

" At last I trow our lord hath taught
" To mail-linked Karl a lesson,
" Away east off Deerness,
" The prince's rule prospered:
" With war-snakes five the wrathful chief
" Rushed 'gainst eleven of the king,
" And hating flight himself held on
" His course with constant heart.

" The seamen laid their ships aboard,
" Along the thwarts the foemen fell,
" Sharp-edged steel in blood was bathed,
" Black blood of Scottish men.
" The hero's heartstrings did not quake,
" Bowstrings sung and blades were biting,
" Shafts were shot and sweat was streaming,
" Spear-heads quivered, bright and gleaming."

After a hard struggle earl Thorfinn defeats king Karl and puts him to flight.

Now earl Thorfinn egged on his men hotly; then he ran his ship aboard of Karl's ship, and there was a very hard fight. Then the Scots held together, just before the mast on the king's ship, and then earl Thorfinn leaps out of the poop and forward on the ship, and fought most bravely. And when he saw that men grew thin on board Karl's ships, he egged on his men to board; and when king Karl saw that, he bade them cut the lashings and hold away[1]. Then Thorfinn and his men cast grappling hooks on board the king's ship. Then Thorfinn bade them bear up his banner, and he followed it thither himself, and a great company of men with him. Then Karl leapt from his ship with those men that were left upstanding; but the most part had fallen on board that ship. Karl leapt on board another ship, and bade them take

[1] Fl. " and get all his fleet of ships under way as fast as they could, take " to their oars and row away."

11th century. to their oars, and then the Scots laid themselves out to fly, but Thorfinn chased them. So says Arnor:

Arnor Earlskald's verses.

"So much shorter was the onslaught,
"For my lord to honour dear,
"Speedy drove at point of spear,
"With less force the foe to flight:
"O'er that army sorely smitten
"Screamed the seamew bird of battle
"Ere their red brands sheathed the king's men;
"From Sandwick south he fought and won."

Earl Thorfinn and Thorkell fosterer pursue the Scots to Broadfirth.

Karl held on away south to Broadfirth,[1] and went on shore there and gathered force anew. Thorfinn turned back after the battle. Then came Thorkell fosterer to meet him, and then they had much people; then they sailed south to Broadfirth after Karl and his men, and as soon as ever they came off Scotland they began to harry. Then they were told how Muddan was north in Caithness at Thurso, and had there a great host; he had also sent to Ireland after men, for he had there many friends and kinsmen, and there he waited for this force. Then Thorfinn and Thorkell took this counsel, that Thorkell fosterer should go north along Caithness with some of the host, while Thorfinn lay behind off Scotland and harried there. Thorkell went stealthily; besides all the land-folk was true and trusty to him in Caithness; no news of him went before him until he came into Thurso at dead of night, and took the house over the heads of Muddan and his men and set fire to it. Muddan slept up in a loft, and just as he leapt out and down out of the loft gallery, Thorkell hewed at him, and the blow came on his neck and took off his head. After that the men gave themselves up, but some got away by running. There many men were slain, but there were a very great many to whom peace was given. Thorkell stayed there a short while ere he

Thorkell fosterer takes Muddan unawares in Caithness and kills him.

[1] The Moray firth.

fared back to Broadfirth; he had then a whole host with him which he had got in Caithness and out of Sutherland and Ross; then he met earl Thorfinn south of Moray, and tells him what had been done in his travels. The earl thanked him well for his toil; then they both lay there a while and harried the land. 11th century.

Now it must be told about king Karl, that he fared up into Scotland after the battle which he had with earl Thorfinn, and there gathered forces anew. He drew together a host all from the south of Scotland, both east and west, and from the south all the way to Cantire. Then also came to meet him that host from Ireland which Muddan had sent after; he sends too far and wide to chiefs for force, and summoned all that host to meet him against earl Thorfinn; and the place where he and Thorfinn met was at Turfness, south of Broadfirth. There arose a mighty battle, and the Scots had a far greater host. Earl Thorfinn was at the head of his battle array; he had a gilded helmet on his head, and was girt with a sword; a great spear in his hand, and he fought with it, striking right and left. So it is said that he was the foremost of all his men. He went thither at first where the battle of those Irish was; so hot was he with his train, that they gave way at once before him, and never afterwards got into good order again. Then Karl let them bring forward his banner to meet Thorfinn; there was a hard fight, and the end of it was, that Karl laid himself out to fly, but some men say that he has fallen. But Arnor says thus: Earl Thorfinn and Thorkell fosterer fight king Karl at Turfness. Defeat and flight of king Karl.

" Gleaming edge of swords grew gory,
" Turfness hight the battle-field,
" Young in years the chieftain wrought it,
" 'Twas on Monday that it fell;
" Then to battle there were singing
" Blades so thin near Oikel south, Arnor Earlskald's verses.

11th century.

" When the sea-king sharp and shifty
" Fared to fight with Scotland's lord.

" High aloft bore Shetland's lord
" Helm amid the crash of spears,
" First in fight in Irish blood
" The warrior bathed his ruddy brand.
" My bounteous lord put forth his might
" Under his British shield,
" And Hlodver's kinsman caught the host
" And set their farms on fire."

The Scots play earl Thorfinn false in Fife.

Earl Thorfinn drove the flight before him a long way up into Scotland, and after that he fared about far and wide over the land and laid it under him. He fared then so far south as Fife, and laid the land under him; men went under him wherever he fared. And then while he was staying in Fife he sent away from him Thorkell fosterer with some of his force. And when the Scots knew that, how the earl had sent away from him some of his host, those very same came against him who had already given themselves up to him; and as soon as ever the earl was ware of their guile, he fetched together his force and fared to meet them; then the Scots were slower in their onslaught when they knew the earl was ready for them. Earl Thorfinn made ready to fight as soon as ever he met the Scots; but then they did not dare to defend themselves, but broke off at once into flight, and fled wide away to woods and wastes. And when Thorfinn had chased the fleers, he got together his men, and says that then he will let them burn all that district in which they then were, and so pay the Scots for their enmity and treachery. Then the earl's men fared among thorpes and farms, and so burned everything, that not a cot stood after them; they slew too all the fighting-men they found, but women and old men dragged themselves off to woods and wastes with

Earl Thorfinn puts them to flight and wastes the and with fire and sword.

weeping and wailing. Much folk too they made captives of war and put them into bonds, and so drove them before them. So says Arnor: 11th century.

Arnor's verses.

" Homesteads then in blaze were blasted,
" Danger that day did not fail them,
" Ruddy flame o'er reeking roofs
" Leapt throughout the Scottish land;
" Manslayers paid their footing painful
" To men, and in one summer's space
" Thrice they got the lesser lot
" Before our chief, the caitiff Scots."

Earl Thorfinn returns to Caithness.

After that earl Thorfinn fared north along Scotland to his ships, and laid under him the land wherever he went. He fared then north to Caithness, and sate there that winter; but every summer thenceforth he had his levies out, and harried about the West lands, but sat most often still in the winters.

Earl Thorfinn's liberality.

23. Earl Thorfinn did that noble deed in the Orkneys, that he furnished all his body-guard and many other powerful men all the winter through, both with meat and drink, so that no man needed to go into inn or boarding-house; just as it is the custom with kings or earls in other lands to furnish their body-guard and guests with meat and drink at Yule. So says Arnor:

" All throughout the scourge of serpents,[1]
" Rognvald's royal progeny
" Drank the lake of barleycorn,
" Then the chieftain gleamed in glory."

Earl Brusi dies, and Thorfinn takes all the isles.

At this time earl Brusi breathed his last, and then Thorfinn took under him all the Orkneys. But it must be told of Rognvald Brusi's son, that he was in the battle at Sticklestead when the saint king Olaf

[1] *the scourge of serpents*] "the winter."

11th century. Battle of Stickle-stead, 1030.

fell; Rognvald got away with the rest of the men who fled. He brought out of the battle Harold Sigurd's son, king Olaf's brother; Harold was very much wounded. Rognvald left him to be healed at a small freeman's house, but Rognvald then fared east across the Keel to Jemtland, and thence to Sweden, to find king Œnund. Harold was with the freeman till he was healed; the freeman then gave his son for a guide to Harold, and they fared east to Jemtland, and thence to Sweden, and fared much with hooded head.[1] Harold sung this stave as they ride over some thickets:[2]

Rognvald, Brusi's son, goes to Sweden with Harold, Sigurd's son.

"Now pass I wood on wood,
"Wandering little worth;
"Who knows whether I may be
"Widely known hereafter."

They go from Sweden to Russia.

Harold went in Sweden to meet Rognvald Brusi's son. Thence they both fared east to Russia, and much folk beside who had been with king Olaf. They did not stop till they came east into Holmgard[3] to meet king Jarizleif; he made them welcome for the sake of the saint king Olaf. Then they were made land-warders over Russia, all of them, and earl Eilif, the son of earl Rognvald Wolf's son.

Rognvald Brusi's son in Russia.

24. Rognvald Brusi's son stayed behind in Russia when Harold Sigurd's son fared out to Micklegarth (Constantinople); Rognvald had then the wardership of the land in the summers, but was in Holmgard in the winters. King Jarizleif esteemed him much, and all the people too. Rognvald was, as was written before, taller and stronger than any man; he was the fairest too of men in his face, and a most gifted man both in mind and body, so that his match was not to be found.

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[1] *with hooded head*] very secretly.

[2] "when they parted in a thicket." Fl.

[3] *Holmgard*] probably Novgorod.

So says Arnor earlskald, that Rognvald had in Russia ten pitched battles. 11th century.

" He flourished as a fruitful tree,
" And fierce in fight as battle's God,
" Ten storms of swords that file the shield
" In Russia's regions won."

When they, Einar Thambaskelfir[1] and Kalf Arni's son, sought out Magnus Olaf's son, east in Russia, Rognvald met them at Aldeigjuborg ;[1] then he was just about falling on Kalf until Einar made him aware in what way it stood with their journey. Einar let Rognvald be told that Kalf repented him of that wickedness that he had killed the saint king Olaf from off the face of the land, and now he will atone for that in his son ; says that Kalf then wishes to raise Magnus to rule in Norway and strengthen him against the Knutlings. And after that Rognvald softened down ; then Einar begs him to make up his mind to a journey with them up to Holmgard, and to back their suit with king Jarizleif, and Rognvald says yea to that. After that they hire themselves carriage in Aldeigjuborg and drive up to Holmgard, and find there king Jarizleif, then they bring forward their errand, and say that the rule of the Knutlings and of Alfifa most of all had got so wearisome to them, that they cannot at all bear to serve them any longer. Then they beg that king Jarizleif would give over to them Magnus Olaf's son as a chief. Then Rognvald backs their suit with them, and so does Ingigerd the queen, and many other chiefs. The king was slow to give over Magnus into the hands of the Northmen, after what they had done towards the saint king Olaf his father ; but still it came about in this way, that twelve of the

Magnus Olaf's son chosen in Russia to be king of Norway, 1034.

[1] *Thambaskelfir*] " paunch-shaker," from his fatness, or " good archer," " string-twanger," for his skill with the bow.

[2] *Aldeigjuborg*] the burg on the Aldeiga, or Ladoga lake.

A.D. 1035–1036. most noble men swore to king Jarizleif this oath, that all was true and trustworthy, but king Jarizleif forbore to take the oath of Rognvald for his faithfulness' sake. Kalf swore that oath to Magnus, that he would follow him without the land and within the land, and do all those things that Magnus thought more or safer for his power. After that the Northmen took Magnus for their king, and became hand-bound to him. Kalf and his friends stayed at Holmgard until Yule went by; then they fared down to Aldeigjuborg and got ship there; they fared at once from the east as soon as the ice loosened in the spring; then Rognvald Brusi's son, made up his mind to journey with the king. They fared first to Sweden, as is said in king Magnus' saga, and thence to Jemtland, and so from the east across the Keel to Verdale. And as soon as Magnus came into Drontheim, all the people came under his power. Then he fared to Nidaros, and was there taken to be king over all the land at the Eyra Thing. After that came about the dealings which he had with king Sweyn, as is said in the Lives of the kings of Norway.

Rognvald goes back with him to Norway.

Magnus the good, king of Norway, 1036–1037.

Rognvald Brusi's son goes back to his native land, 1036.

25. When Rognvald Brusi's son came into Norway, he heard of the death of earl Brusi his father; he heard also this, that earl Thorfinn had taken under him all the Orkneys. Then Rognvald was eager to go to his own land, and begged that King Magnus would give him leave to do that. King Magnus saw that this was needful to Rognvald, and stood well with him in this matter. Then king Magnus gave Rognvald the title of earl, and three longships, and all well manned; he gave him also in fief that trithing which king Olaf had owned in the Orkneys, and which he had given to Brusi, Rognvald's father. Then king Magnus promised to Rognvald his foster-brother his entire friendship, and said he might reckon his strength his own whenever he needed it. Thus they parted with such like love-tokens as now were written.

26. Rognvald Brusi's son sailed west to the Orkneys, and fared first to those homesteads which his father had owned; then he sent a message to earl Thorfinn his kinsman, and begged to have that trithing of the isles which his father had owned. He made them also tell Thorfinn that king Magnus gave him in fief that trithing of the lands which king Olaf had owned. He begged to have those two lots of the lands at his will of his kinsman Thorfinn. But at that time earl Thorfinn had great quarrels with the Southislanders and the Irish; he thought he had much need of help in men, and he made these answers to Rognvald's messengers, that he shall take of a surety that trithing of the isles which he owned by right, "but that trithing which "Magnus claims as his, then we yielded in that to "king Olaf, more for that we were come within his "grasp, than because we thought it right; and so we "and our kinsman Rognvald will agree all the more "if we two talk little to each other about that trithing "of the lands; it has long been a cause of quarrel. "But if Rognvald will be a trusty kinsman and "strengthener to me, then methinks my realm will "be well bestowed if he has that trithing as a pastime "for himself and a strength for both of us. In short, "his help is worth more to me than the scatts which "I get from it." After that the messengers fared back, and said to Rognvald that Thorfinn had yielded to him two lots of the lands, if he will be his strengthener, as ought to be for kinship's sake. Rognvald says that he had only laid claim to what he thought he owned. But for that Thorfinn gave the lands up so readily, he said he would of a surety be willing to lend him help and to be his entire friend, just as their kinship bound them. Now Rognvald took under him two lots of the lands, and so things stood that winter. But very early in the spring earl Thorfinn sent word to his kinsman Rognvald, and begs him to fare a-roving with him. and to bring as many men as he could get with him.

A.D. 1036.

He claims two lots of the land from earl Thorfinn.

Earl Thorfinn's answer.

Earl Rognvald has two lots of the lands, and becomes Thorfinn's friend and ally.

A.D. 1037–1045. Thorfinn and Rognvald go a-roving together for eight years.

And when these words came to Rognvald, he got ready at once and drew a host together, and gathered to himself all the ships he could get; and when that host was boun, he fared to meet earl Thorfinn; then Thorfinn had also got his host boun; and he gave his kinsman Rognvald a good welcome, and then they went into fellowship together.

27. Those kinsmen Thorfinn and Rognvald harried that summer over the Southern isles and Ireland, and far and wide about Scotland's firths. Thorfinn laid the land under him wherever they fared. In the summer they had a great fight in the place called Waterfirth;[1] there was a great loss of men. They took to battle speedily, and those kinsmen won a bright victory. Of this battle Arnor earlskald makes mention in Thorfinn's ode: He was there in the battle.

"There was I where Waterfirth
"The place is hight in mickle risk,
"With my Lord the friend of man,
"Of his works I know the tokens;
"From the ships the warriors speedy
"Bore the shieldburg, Friday morning
"There I saw the gray wolf gaping
"O'er wounded corse of many a man."

After this battle they turned back to the Orkneys, and sate still through that winter. And so eight winters went by that Rognvald had two lots of the isles, so that earl Thorfinn made no complaint about it. But every summer they were a-roving, sometimes both together, but sometimes each of them by himself, as Arnor says:

"He who loved was often working,
"Ireland's offspring fell before him,
"When he fell on British races,
"Fire flew o'er Scotland's realm."

[1] A firth in the Isle of Skye.

28. With those kinsmen everything went always well when they met; but if bad (worse) men went between them (tale-bearing) the disputes were always talked out. Earl Thorfinn sate long in Caithness, and Rognvald in the isles. It fell out one summer that earl Thorfinn harried in the Southern isles and about the West Coast of Scotland. He lay at the place called Galloway, there Scotland and England meet. He had sent away from him a force south to England to land and seize and slaughter cattle, for there where he lay with his force all the folk had fled away, and all the cattle were driven away from him. But when the Englishmen were ware of the Vikings, they gathered themselves together and fell upon them, and took from them all the cattle, but slew of them all the men who were fit for anything, but sent back some runagates, and bade them tell earl Thorfinn how they made Vikings sick of wrong and robbery; and they had besides about it many scornful words. So they fared to find earl Thorfinn, and told him how ill they had fared. He took it ill that his men were lost, but said he could not help it; but this he said he was well able to do, and that was to pay off the Englishmen for all the gibes and jeers which they made out of the matter; and he said he must first of all part from them for a while, but if he were safe and sound next summer he said he and they should meet.

A.D. 1037–1045.

Earl Thorfinn's men cut off in England.

29. At that time Hardicanute was [king] over England and Denmark. After that earl Thorfinn fared to the Orkneys and sate there that winter. Early in the spring he called out his levies over all his realm; then he sent a message to his kinsman Rognvald, and Rognvald agrees to it. Rognvald had a levy over all his realm. Earl Thorfinn drew together a host from the Orkneys and Caithness; he had also a mighty host from Scotland and Ireland, and from all the Southern isles people flocked to him. He held on with

He and Rognvald war together in England, 1041.

A.D. 1037–1045. Earls Thorfinn and Rognvald war in England.

all that host to England just as he had promised them the autumn before. Hardicanute was in Denmark when these tidings happened. But as soon as ever the earls came to England they began to harry and waste; but those chiefs who were set there to watch the land fared against them with force, and there was a great and hard battle, and the earls got the victory. After that they fared far and wide over England, and harried, slew men, and burned the farms wherever they went. This Arnor mentions in Thorfinn's ode:

"One there was that Angles mind
"Storm of spears, nor evermore
"Shall the lord of rings come thither
"With a greater force to battle.
"Thin-ground swords bit sturdy people,
"But the child of ancient Rognvald
"Rushed beneath his buckler thither,
"South from Man across the main.

"On English native land his banner
"Bore the earl, and often reddened
"Tongue of eagles, troops to carry
"Ensigns onward still he ordered,
"Fire waxed and homes were blazing,
"As the army chased the fleers,
"Flames spread fast, and near to heaven
"Smote the glare of forest's foeman.[1]

"Many blasts of horns were blowing,
"Through the burgs when bold to battle
"Rushed the ruler, while his banner
"Fluttered bravely in the breeze.
"'Twas on a rainy Friday morning,
"When the day scarce beamed for battle,
"That the foemen fierce he scattered;
"Weapons flew and wolves were fattened."

Earl Thorfinn had two pitched battles in England, but on the other hand he gave them many defeats

[1] *forest's foeman*] fire.

and man-slayings. He lay there almost all the summer through, but at autumn he fared home to the Orkneys, and was there that winter. A.D. 1045.

30. At this time Kalf Arni's son fled out of the land before king Magnus. He fared west across the sea to his nephew-in-law earl Thorfinn. Thorfinn had then to wife Ingibiorg earlsmother, the daughter of earl Finn Arni's son. Then Kalf was in great love with earl Thorfinn. He held about him a great following of men; that was very costly to the earl. There were many, too, then who said out before him that he should not let Rognvald have two lots of the isles, when he had to spend so much money himself. And after that earl Thorfinn sent men out into the isles, and asked for that trithing from earl Rognvald, which earl Einar wrymouth had owned. But when that message came, the earl brought it before his friends and counsellors. After that he calls thither earl Thorfinn's messengers. Rognvald says, that as for that lot of the isles which they claim, he had taken it in fief from king Magnus, and that the king called it his father's heritage. Now he said king Magnus had power to say which of them should own that lot; but he said he would not let it go if it were the king's will that he should have it. On this the messengers fared away, and tell earl Thorfinn those words. They said, too, it was surely to be looked for that this would not be got without a struggle. But when earl Thorfinn heard that, he grew very wrath, and said it was a likely story that king Magnus was to have his brother's heritage. He said, too, that had been agreed to more because he and earl Brusi were then come into king Olaf's grasp than because it was a fair and rightful sharing of the inheritance. "Now methinks "Rognvald doth not repay me well when I have now "let him have that realm in freedom for a while, if "I shall not now come near the heritage my brother "has left me unless I fight for it." Earl Thorfinn was so wrath at this, that no long time after he sends men

Kalf Arni's son flies to the Orkneys, circa 1044.

Thorfinn welcomes him.

Thorfinn claims one trithing of the lands from Rognvald.

They quarrel.

Thorfinn prepares to make good his claim by force.

A.D. 1045. into the Southern isles, and up into Scotland, and drew a force together. He gave it out too, that he meant to come to blows with earl Rognvald, and then take that without forbearance which he could not get when he sought for it in peace. And now, when this is told to earl Rognvald, that earl Thorfinn was gathering a force against him, he summoned his friends about him, and moots this with them, that earl Thorfinn his kinsman means to come to blows with him with a host and strife. He asked then what force they will furnish him with, and says he is not willing to lose his own without one trial of strength. But when he begged for their judgment on this matter then men gave it in very different ways. Some spoke after earl Rognvald, and said it was to be forgiven him that he did not wish to share his realm; but there were some who said it was to be forgiven to Thorfinn that he wished to have the realm for a while, when Rognvald had already had that lot which earl Einar had owned. They said, too, it was bad counsel that Rognvald should lay himself out to fight against Thorfinn with that force which he could get from two lots of the isles, when Thorfinn had a trithing and Caithness, and a great share of Scotland and all the Southern isles. There were men, too, who spoke and said that a peaceful settlement must be sought, who beg that Rognvald would offer earl Thorfinn a half of the isles, and so in that way their kinship might still be saved. But when Rognvald found that each had a way of his own, but all were against his resisting, then he laid bare his will, and said that he will not cut his realm asunder by any settlement; that he would far rather give up the realm at once, and go to seek king Magnus his fosterbrother, and look after what strength the king will give him to hold his realm. After that he makes ready for his voyage, and fares east to Norway, nor does he slacken his course before he comes into the presence of king Magnus. And when he is come thither, he tells the king the whole

Rognvald takes counsel of his friends, and flies to king Magnus.

King Magnus gives him force to make good his rights.

story. The king made earl Rognvald good cheer, and bade him be with him so long as he liked, and to take a fief of him so large that he could well maintain himself and his people; but earl Rognvald told the king that he wished he would give him strength enough to seek back his realm. King Magnus said of a surety he would aid him with strength to get what he asked. Rognvald stayed a short time in Norway ere he began his voyage west to the Orkneys. He had then many picked men whom king Magnus had granted him. And this went with him too; he [the king] sent word to Kalf Arni's son, that he should have his lands and leave to live in Norway, if he would stand by earl Rognvald in this quarrel between him and earl Thorfinn. A.D. 1046.

31. Earl Rognvald sailed from Norway west towards the Orkneys, and made Shetland from the sea, and drew force to himself, and thence fared south into the Orkneys. There he summoned his friends to meet him, and gathered force thence. Earl Thorfinn was over in Caithness, and news came to him at once of Rognvald's doings, and he drew force to himself from Scotland and the Southern isles. Earl Rognvald sent at once the message of king Magnus to Kalf Arni's son, and Kalf took in a kind way all that the king had spoken. Earl Rognvald drew his host together in the Orkneys, and meant to cross over into the Ness. But when he came into the Pentland firth, then he had thirty war-ships, all big and in good trim. There came against him earl Thorfinn, and had sixty ships, and most of them small. Their meeting was off the Red Head, and they ran into battle at once. There, too, was come Kalf Arni's son, and had six ships, and all great, and did not run into the fight. And now arises the hardest battle; either earl egged on his people. But when things had gone on so for a while, the loss of men turns on earl Thorfinn's side, and that was most because the difference in the height of the ship's sides was great.

Earl Rognvald reaches the Orkneys.

Earl Thorfinn and earl Rognvald have a sea-fight off the Red Head in the Pentland firth.

A.D. 1046. Thorfinn had a great ship, and in good trim, and in that he ran forward most bravely. But when the decks of the smaller ships were cleared, then the earl's ship was run aboard of on both sides; and then they stood in very great need. Then numbers of men fell on board the earl's ship, but some were very badly wounded. Earl Rognvald then egged on his men to board; but when earl Thorfinn saw into what a bad plight they were come, he made them cut his ship away from her lashings and rowed to land. He made them bear out of his ship seventy corpses. There, too, went out all those who were unfightworthy for their wounds' sake. Then earl Thorfinn begged Arnor earlskald to go out of the ship; he was in the earl's train, and held in great love. He went on shore and chaunted a song:

" This man is loath to go against
" Brusi's son, one's lord to follow
" Is good, that lesson to the people
" Ne'er shall I be found gainsaying;
" Hard the choice we have before us
" If these earls so full of fury
" Fall to blows, a time of trial
" For friendship we shall surely see."

Earl Thorfinn is nearly defeated.

He asks aid of Kalf Arni's son.

Earl Thorfinn mans his ship with the best men he had left. After that he fares to find Kalf, and asked him for help. He said thus, that Kalf could not get bought back the friendship of king Magnus when he had already been forced to flee out of the land. " When " thou foundest it no good that thou hadst already " been taken into very great love. So mayest thou " make up thy mind if Rognvald is victorious over " us, and if the power of king Magnus and of him " spreads here over the western sea, that then thou " wilt not be welcome here. But if we win the day, " then nothing shall fall short to you that I have " power to give. We two shall be at no man's mercy " here across the western sea, if we two are both of

" one mind. And thou wilt not surely like to have A.D. 1046.
" that on your mind that thou liest here like a cat
" in a cave, while I fight for the freedom of us both.
" Besides, there are those ties between us two, that
" it beseems each of us better to lend the other help,
" since men who are bound to you by no ties are
" against us." But when Kalf heard the egging on Kalf and Thorfinn restore the fight.
of Thorfinn, he called on his men, and bade them put out to battle together with earl Thorfinn. As Bjarni Gullbrar-Skald says:

" We have heard, O Kalf, to hurly
" How Finn's son-in-law thou followedst,
" And thy war-snakes o'er the waters
" Swiftly swept against the earl;
" Gold-begetter, vengeance-mindful,
" All unwilling to attack
" Brusi's son so bold in battle;
" Thorfinn had thy help at last."

Now they made an onslaught by rowing, both of them together, earl Thorfinn and Kalf. And when they came to the fight, Thorfinn's host was ready to flee, but very many of them were fallen. The earl ran his ship against the ship of earl Rognvald, and there arose the hardest fight. So says Arnor:

" I saw both my goldbestowers,
" Each the other's henchmen hewing,
" On the fitful firth of Pentland;
" Thence my grief grew more and more;
" Sea was blood-stained, black kept dripping
" Gore between the gaping seams,
" Sweat was shed on rim of shield,
" All the sides with blood were dabbled."

Kalf ran up against the smaller ships of Rognvald and cleared their decks quickly, for there was a great difference in the height of their sides. But when the levies who had come from Norway saw ships cleared

A D. 1046. hard by them, they then loosed their ships from their lashings, and laid themselves out to fly, so that scarce a ship was left behind with the earl's ship. Then the fight began to turn. So says Arnor earlskald:

Earl Rognvald is defeated and flies to Norway.

" The lord, so brave in burst of battle,
" Then had surely laid beneath him
" All that ancient land of Orkney,
" —He had far less loss of men,—
" If the sea-king son of Endil
" Could have brought that host to help him,
" Island-born, but Shetland's lord,
" By his army was betrayed."

And now that the main host had fled, then they, Kalf and Thorfinn, both ran aboard of earl Rognvald's ship, and then many men of earl Rognvald's fell. And when earl Rognvald saw in what a straight he was come, and that he could not conquer Thorfinn and Kalf both, then he made them hew the lashings asunder, and laid himself out to fly. Then the day was far spent, and it began to grow dark. Earl Rognvald sailed at once that night into the main, and so east to Norway; he did not slacken his course till he came into king Magnus' presence; he made him welcome now as before, and bade him be with him; and there earl Rognvald stayed a while.

Earl Thorfinn lays all the isles under him.

32. Now it is to be said of earl Thorfinn, that on the morning after the fight he made them row about all the isles to search for the men who had fled. Many were slain, but some came to terms of peace; then earl Thorfinn laid under him all the isles, and made every man come into his hand,[1] and those as well who had been before bound by an oath to Rognvald. He sat himself up then in the Orkneys with a very great band of men, and drew his supplies from Caithness on the other side. But Kalf Arni's son, he sends into the

Earl Rognvald's plan to recover the isles.

[1] *come into his hand*, become his liegeman.

Southern isles, and let him sit there as a means of strength for himself. But when earl Rognvald had stayed in Norway awhile with king Magnus, he said to the king that he would try back to the Orkneys. But when the king heard that, he called it unwise to fare before the winter abated and ice loosened and the sea began to thaw; said he then would give him ships and crews as many as he needed. Rognvald speaks thus, and said now he was not willing to lose king Magnus' men; said, too, that it could not be carried out unless with great loss of men, if he gathered a host to come to blows with Thorfinn and Karl, such a large realm as they have there west: "I mean now," he said, "to hold on west with "one ship, and to man it as well as I can; then I "ween that no news of us will be borne before us. "Then it will either be, that we shall come upon "them unawares, and then we may speedily win that "victory which we should win hardly or not at all "with a great force. But if they become aware of "our voyage, then we will let the sea still take care "of us." King Magnus bade him fare as he liked, but to come back to him again as soon as he chose. A.D. 1046.

And after that earl Rognvald makes ready his voyage and takes pains in choosing men to go with him; and some of the king's bodyguard made up their minds to go with him; then he had a picked force. And when they were boun they sailed away to sea. That was about the beginning of winter.[1] Earl Rognvald returns to Shetland in the winter of 1046.

33. Earl Rognvald made Shetland from the sea; then he learnt that earl Thorfinn was in the Orkneys and had no very great force with him; he had then no fear of war in high-winter. Now Rognvald held on straightway south to the Orkneys. Earl Thorfinn was then in Hrossey, and had no fear for himself. But as soon as Rognvald came into the Orkneys he Earl Rognvald comes to the Orkneys and takes earl Thorfinn unawares.

[1] Fl. adds, "and got a fair wind."

A.D. 1046. and burns the house over his head.

held on thither where he heard Thorfinn was, and came upon him so unawares, that nothing was heard of them before they had seized all the doors of the house which Thorfinn and his men were in. It was night then, and most men were asleep, but the earl sat then still a-drinking. Rognvald and his men bore fire to the homestead; but when earl Thorfinn was ware of the strife, he sent men to the doors and let them ask, who had sway over the strife. Then it was said that Earl Rognvald was come thither. Then men sprung to their arms. Then nothing could be done in the way of defence, because outlet was shut to all. The house began soon to blaze. Thorfinn gave counsel that men should beg for leave to go out who could get terms of peace. And this was asked of the earl, and he allowed it to all women and unfree men, but said most of earl Thorfinn's body-guard would be no better to him alive than dead. So those men were drawn out to whom peace was given and then the whole house was soon burning. Earl Thorfinn broke away a wainscot panel at the back of the house, and sprung out there; he had Ingibjorg his wife in his arms. The night was pitch dark and moonless, and he got away under the smoke, so that the earl's men were not ware of him. He rowed at once that night alone in a boat over to the Ness. Earl Rognvald burned down the whole homestead, and all those men who were inside it, to whom leave was not given to go out. Now no man thought anything else than that earl Thorfinn had lost his life there. After this earl Rognvald fared about over all the isles and laid them under him. He sent also those words over to Caithness and to the Southern isles, that he meant to claim all that realm that earl Thorfinn had owned. No man gainsaid him in this. Earl Thorfinn was in divers places in hiding in Caithness with his friends, and no news went abroad that he had got away from the burning.

Earl Thorfinn escapes unknown to earl Rognvald.

Earl Thorfinn in hiding in Caithness.

34. Earl Rognvald sat in Kirkwall, and drew thither the stores which he needed to have for his winter quarters. He had a great band of men, and much good cheer. But a little before Yule earl Rognvald fared with a great following into the Little Papey to fetch malt, to be brewed for Yule. And at even, as they were on the isle, they sate long over a roasting fire, and he who made up the fire spoke and said that the firewood began to fall short. Then the earl made a slip of the tongue, and these were the words he spoke: "Then are we full old when these fires are "burnt out." But he meant so to have spoken, that they would then be full warmed. And as soon as ever he found it out, he said "I have not made a "slip of the tongue before this so that I call it to "mind; it comes into my mind what king Olaf my "foster-father said at Sticklestead when I took him up "for a slip of the tongue: If it ever happens that I "made a slip of the tongue I might make up my "mind that I should then have but a short time un-"lived. May be that my kinsman Thorfinn is yet "alive." And just then they heard how that the homestead was girt round by men. There was come earl Thorfinn. They bore fire at once to the house, and laid up a pile of fuel before the doors. They allowed all to go out save the earl's men. And when most of the men were drawn out, a man went out into the doorway in linen underclothes, and begged earl Thorfinn to stretch out his hand toward the deacon. But that man rested his hands on the balk of wood across the doorway, and vaulted out over the balk and the ring of men, so that he came down ever so far off all of them, and was lost in the darkness of night. Thorfinn bade them hold on after him, and says there went earl Rognvald, "this is his nimbleness, and no one's else." Then they fared to hunt for him, and parted themselves into companies, and Thorkell fosterer went along the sea-shore to search. They

Earl Rognvald in Kirkwall.

Earl Rognvald goes to the Little Papey for malt just before Christmas, 1046.

Earl Thorfinn takes him unawares, and sets fire to the house.

Earl Rognvald escapes out of the house, but is taken and slain by Thorkell fosterer.

A.D. 1046. heard how a dog barked among the rocks on the sea-shore. Earl Rognvald had his lapdog with him, and he betrayed the carl.[1] They put him to death at once among the rocks, and it is the story of some men that Thorkell fosterer slew him, because there were no other men who would do it. But he had sworn to do all those deeds which seemed to Thorfinn more for his realm's safety than otherwise. Thorfinn and his men stayed that night on the isle, and there all the train that had followed Rognvald thither were slain. But the morning after they took a ship of burden and laded her with malt. After that they went on board, and left the shields at stem and prow which Rognvald and his men had owned. They let, too, no more men be seen in the ship than had followed the earl. Then they rowed to Kirkwall. And when the followers of Rognvald who were in the town saw that, they thought that there earl Rognvald must be coming and his men; then they went to meet him, and most of them unarmed. Earl Thorfinn let them there take about thirty men and slay them. They were most of them of king Magnus' body-guard and his friends. The earl gave peace to one of king Magnus' body-guard, and bade that man fare east to Norway and tell these tidings to king Magnus.

Earl Thorfinn surprises earl Rognvald's men, and slays them all but one.

Earl Thorfinn sole ruler in the Orkneys, 1046.

35. The body of earl Rognvald was carried to the Greater Papey, and there buried; and it was the saying of men that he has been by far the best bred man and with most friends of all the Orkney earls, and his death was a great grief to many a man. After that earl Thorfinn laid all the isles under him, and now no man gainsaid him in that. Early in the spring came these tidings east to Norway, and king Magnus

King Magnus' grief for Rognvald.

[1] Fl. adds, "Thorkell made him captive, and bade men put an end to the earl, and offered them money to do it; but no one would do it any more for money. Then Thorkell did the deed himself, for that he knew that one or other of them must bow before the other. Then earl Thorfinn came up, and did not blame the deed."

thought the loss of Rognvald, his foster-brother, the greatest scathe, and said he would avenge him as soon as ever he had time. But he had at that time great strife with king Sweyn Ulfson, who had then let himself be chosen to be king over Denmark. A.D. 1047.

Harold Sigurd's son returns to Norway, 1046.

36. At that time came into Norway Harold Sigurd's son, the kinsman of king Magnus, and king Magnus gave him half Norway. They were both kings in Norway one winter. Then they called out a levy over all Norway and meant to go south to Denmark. But when they lay in the Selisles two long-ships ran into the haven, and up to king Magnus' ship. A man went from the long-ship in a white cowl, and aft along the ship and up into the poop. The king sate over meat. This man hailed the king, and bowed before him, took up a loaf of bread and broke a bit off and ate. The king took his greeting, and reached out to him the bowl when he saw that he ate the bread. This man took the bowl, and said: "We want peace, messmate." The king looked at him, and said, "Who art thou?" "I am Thorfinn, Sigurd's son." "Art thou "earl Thorfinn," says the king. "So I am called west "yonder," says he, "but I am come hither with two "ships of twenty benches each, and rather well manned, "so far as we are able. Now I will row on this levy "with you, if ye will take help of me. But all my "matter and I myself shall be at God's command and "yours, lord, for the sake of those great misdeeds "which I have broken against your will." Then men went up and heard their talk. The king was slow in answering, and spoke thus: "True it is, earl Thor-"finn, that I had not meant, if the meeting of us "two ever took place as it has now done, that thou "shouldst be able to tell of our parting. But now "things have happened so, that it beseems not my "honour that I should take and kill thee, Now thou "shalt fare with me, but the terms of our atonement "I will utter at my leisure." Earl Thorfinn bade the

Earl Thorfinn comes to king Magnus and asks for peace, and offers to help the king.

The king's reply.

king good-bye, and went to his ships. The king lay a very long time in the Selisles. Then a host gathered thither to him out of the Bay. He meant to sail thence south under Jutland as soon as he got a fair wind.

Earl Thorfinn in high favour with king Magnus.

Earl Thorfinn was then often long a-talking with the king. The king treated him well, and took him much into his counsels. It fell out one day that the earl went on board the king's ship, and aft into the poop. The king bade him sit by him. The earl sat him down, and they both drank together and were merry. A tall brisk man in a red kirtle came into the poop, that man hailed the king. The king took his greeting blithely; that was one of the king's bodyguard.

The king's thane, whom earl Thorfinn had spared in the Orkneys, asks atonement and amends at his hands.

This man began to speak, and said, "Thee am I "come to find, earl Thorfinn." "What wilt thou of "me," says the earl. "I want to know with what "thou wilt atone to me for my brother, whom thou "letst to be slain west in Kirkwall, along with "other thanes of king Magnus." "Hast thou not "heard that," says the earl, "that I am not wont "to atone for those men with money whom I cause "to be slain. And this is how it is, that methinks I "have always had good cause when I have let men "be slain." "It is no business of mine how thou hast "done by other men, if thou atonest for this one, "on whose behalf I make this claim. Besides, I left "behind me there some goods of my own, and for "myself I was shamefully treated. I have the best "right, therefore, to make this claim in my brother's "name and my own, and I will have amends for it. "But the king may as well forgive everything that "is done against him, if he thinks it nothing worth "when his thanes are led out and hewn down like "sheep." The earl answers: "I see plainly that it "is all the better for me here that thou hast not had "power over me. Art thou not that man to whom I "gave peace yonder." "Sure enough I am," says he; "it was in thy choice to slay me there and then

Earl Thorfinn s answer, and what the king said.

" like other men." Then the earl answers: "Sooth A.D. 1047.
" it is, as the saying goes, that 'many things happen
" 'that one least looks for.' I thought then that I
" could never be so placed that I should have to pay
" for being too peaceable to my foes; but now I am
" to smart for having given thee mercy. Thou wouldest
" not be able to cry out against me to-day before
" princes if I had let thee be slain like the rest of thy
" companions." The king looked at the earl and said:
" There it comes out though, earl Thorfinn, that
" thou thinkest thou hast slain too few of my thanes
" without atonement." The king was then as red as
blood. The earl sprang up then, and went down out
of the poop and on board his ship. Then all was quiet
that evening. But next morning, when men were
woke, a fair breeze was come. Then men rowed straight-
way out of the haven. The king sailed then south into
Jutland's sea with all the fleet. The earl's ship sailed a Earl Thor-
good deal westward to the open sea at the beginning of finn leaves the king.
the day; but when the day began to wear away, the
earl steered west into the main. There is nothing to
be said about him before he came to the Orkneys and
sate down there in his realm. King Magnus and
Harold sailed to Denmark, and stayed there that sum-
mer. King Sweyn would not come out to meet them;
he was in Scanör with his host. In that summer king King
Magnus took that sickness which led him to his death. Magnus dies, 1047.
He gave it out then before all the people that he
gave all the realm of Norway to his father's brother
Harold.[1]

[1] The Fl. has here left out a long passage which runs thus in the Danish translation: " But to king " Sweyn he gave Denmark. He " also sent his brother Thorir and " many other of his friends whom " he wished to be well treated to " king Sweyn. But after king " Magnus was dead, king Harold " gave out that he would make for " Veborg Thing, and let himself " be chosen there king over all " Denmark; and said that then " the Norwegians would be for " ever over the Danes, and made " a long speech about it. But " Einar Paunchshaker answered " him, and said, 'It is more to my

A.D. 1047–64.

37. Earl Thorfinn now ruled over the Orkneys and all the rest of his realms. Kalf, Arni's son, was also mostly with him. Sometimes he went west sea-roving, and harried the coasts of Scotland and Ireland; he was also in England, and was for a while over the Thingmen's band. When earl Thorfinn heard of the death of king Magnus, he sent then men east to Norway to find king Harold and greet him with friendly words; he says, thus, that he wishes to become his friend. But when that message came to the king, he took it well, and the king promised him his friendship. And when this message came back to the earl, he made ready his voyage, and had with him from the west two ships of twenty benches each, and more than a hundred men, all fine picked fellows. Then he fared east to Norway, and found the king in Hördaland. He gave him a very hearty welcome; and at their parting the king gave him good gifts. Thence the earl sailed south along the land and so to Denmark. There he fared round the land, and found king Sweyn in

Earl Thorfinn goes to see king Harold Hardrada in Norway, and king Sweyn in Denmark.

" ' mind, and I am more bound, to
" ' bear the body of king Magnus
" ' north to Norway to the saint
" ' king Olaf, his father, than to
" ' fight along with king Harold
" ' for other kings' realms.' And
" at the same time he ended his
" speech by saying he thought it
" better to follow king Magnus
" dead than any other king alive;
" and there and then Einar went
' to his ship, and as he went all
" the chiefs whose homes lay north
" of Stad in Norway, went with
" him. Then king Harold saw no
" other way than to sail first to
" Norway, and first take the king-
" dom under him. King Sweyn
" was in Skanör at the time that
" he heard that king Magnus was
" dead. He had it then in his
" mind to ride east into Sweden,
" and to give up the name of king
" which he had taken; and just as
" he was ready to start there came
" a man to him who told him that
" king Magnus was dead, and all
" the Norwegian host had gone
" out of Denmark. Then king
" Sweyn swore by God that he
" would never give up Denmark
" for any man so long as he was
" alive. Then he crossed over to
" Zealand, and laid the realm under
" him wherever he came. There
" he met Thorir and many other
" of king Magnus' men whom he
" had sent together. He took
" very kindly to them, and Thorir
" was with him a long time after-
" wards."

Aalborg; he asked the earl to his house, and made him a grand feast. Then the earl laid bare his purpose how he meant to go south to Rome. But when he came to Saxony, he met there the kaiser Henry, and he gave the earl a very hearty welcome, and gave him many great gifts. He got him, too, many horses, and then he made ready his journey south. Then he fared to Rome, and saw the pope there, and there he took absolution from him for all his misdeeds. The earl turned thence to his journey home, and came back safe and sound into his realm; and that journey was most famous. Then the earl sat down quietly and kept peace over all his realm. Then he left off warfare; then he turned his mind to ruling the people and land, and to law-giving. He sate almost always in Birsay, and let them build there Christchurch, a splendid minster. There first was set up a bishop's seat in the Orkneys. Earl Thorfinn had to wife Ingibjorg earlsmother; they had two sons, who grew up out of childhood; the name of one was Paul and the other's Erlend; they were tall men and fair, and took more after their mother's side. They were men wise and meek. The earl loved them much, and so too did all the people.

A.D. 1047-64. Earl Thorfinn makes up his mind to go to Rome.

He goes thither, and gets absolution from the pope.

He returns home. circa 1048.

38. Earl Thorfinn held all his realms till his death day; it is soothly said that he has been the most powerful of all the Orkney earls. He owned nine earldoms in Scotland, and all the Southern isles, and he had a great realm in Ireland. So says Arnor earlskald:

Earl Thorfinn's power.

"All the way from Tuskar-skerry
"Down to Dublin hosts obeyed him,
"Royal Thorfinn, raven-feeder;
"True I tell how liegemen loved him."

Earl Thorfinn was then five winters old when Malcolm the Scot-king, his mother's father, gave him the title of earl; but afterwards he was sixty[1] winters earl.

[1] Fifty would seem to be the true reading, for Thorfinn seems to have reigned from A.D. 1014 till 1064, in which latter year the earl appears to have died.

A.D. 1064. He breathed his last about the end of king Harold Sigurd's son's days. He is buried at Christchurch in Birsay, which he let be built. The earl's death was a great grief in the Orkneys and in his lands of heritage. But in those lands which he had laid under him with war, then many thought it great thraldom to abide under his power. Then many realms fell away which the earl had laid under him, and men looked for trust under those chiefs who were there home-born to rule in those realms. So losses were very soon plainly seen when earl Thorfinn fell away.

Earl Thorfinn dies in peace at Birsay, and is buried there, circa 1064.

These songs were sung about the battle between earl Rognvald Brusi's son, and earl Thorfinn:

Songs on his exploits.

" Loath am I to tell the story,
" How I witness was when men
" Broke the truce between the earls,
" Equal corpses got the corbies:
" Off the isles the mighty monarch
" Tore the sea's blue tent in twain,
" Storm-cold waters then were stiffened,
" Striking ships with buffets sore."

" Hard mishap uprose triumphant
" As the earls in onslaught strove,
" Many a man then learnt the lesson
" How to fall in bloody fight;
" Hard beneath the headland ruddy
" Hearty friends of ours fought,
" Storm of spear-points followed after,
" Many mild folk there met grief."

" Gloom o'er gleaming sun shall gather,
" Earth 'neath billow black be merged,
" Austri's burden [1] break to pieces,
" Main-sea mount above the mountains;

[1] *burden*] Heaven, "the burden of Austri," one of the four Dwarves who bore up the heavens.

" Ere among those isles a fairer A.D. 1064.
" Chieftain shall again be born,
" Thorfinn trusty lord of thanes
" Long may God him guard alive."

"THE STORY OF EARL MAGNUS."

39. NOW[1] the sons of earl Thorfinn took the realm after him. Paul was the elder of them, and he took the lead over them. They did not share the lands between them, and yet were a very long time well agreed in their dealings. Ingibjorg earlsmother gave herself away, after the death of earl Thorfinn, to Malcolm the Scot-king, who was called long-neck; their son was Duncan the Scot-king, father of William the nobleman. His son's name again was William the prince, whom all the Scots wished to take for their king. Earl Paul, Thorfinn's son, got to wife the daughter of earl Hacon Ivar's son, and they had many children. Their son's name was Hacon. They had a daughter whose name was Thora; she was given away in Norway to Haldor, the son of Brynjulf [the old] camel. Their son's name was Brynjulf; his son's name was Haldor, who had to wife Gyrid Dag's daughter. Another daughter of Paul's was named Ingirid, whom Einar Vorsacrow had to wife. Herbjorg was the name of Paul's third daughter; she was the mother of Ingibjorg the honourable, whom Sigurd of Westness had to wife, and their sons were Hacon pick and Brynjulf. Sigrid was another daughter of Herbjorg, the mother of Hacon bairn and Herborg, whom Kol-

Earls Paul and Erlend rule over the Orkneys in common, 1064.

Their sons, daughters, and descendants.

Paul and Erlend's descendants.

[1] Here begins the second part of the Orkneyingers' Saga, containing an abridgement of the Life of St. Magnus.

A.D. 1064–66.

beinn the burly had to wife. Ragnhilda was the name of a fourth daughter of earl Paul, she was the mother of Benedict, the father of Ingibjorg, the mother of Erling the archdeacon. Bergliot was the name of another daughter of Ragnhilda, whom Havard Gunni's son had to wife; their sons were Magnus and Hacon claw, and Dufnjal and Thorstein. These are all earls' kin, and noblemen in the Orkneys, and all these men come into the story afterwards. Earl Erlend Thorfinn's son had to wife that woman whose name was Thora and was the daughter of Summerled the son of Ospak. The mother of Ospak was Thordis, daughter of Hall o' the Side. Erling and Magnus were their (Erlend's and Thora's) sons, but their daughters were Gunnhilda and Cecilia, whom Isaac had to wife, and their sons (Cecilia's and Isaac's), were Endridi and Kol. Jatvor was the name of a base-born daughter of Erlend, her son's name was Borgar.

King Harold Sigurd's son fit a host against England, 1066.

40. When those brothers Paul and Erlend had taken the rule in the Orkneys, Harold Sigurd's son came from the east out of Norway with a great host. He came first to Shetland. Thence he fared to the Orkneys. There he left behind him Elspeth his queen and their daughters Maria and Ingigerd. Out of the Orkneys he had much force. Both the earls made ready to go with the king. The king fared thence south to England, and landed in the place called Cleveland, and won Scarborough. After that he ran in at Hallorness, and had there a battle and won the victory. On the mid-week day [Wednesday] next before Matthiasmass he had a battle in York against earls Waltheof and Morcar. There Morcar fell. The Sunday after that burg was given into the power of king Harold which stood by Stamford-bridge. The Monday after he went on land to settle things in the town. At the ships he left behind him his son Olaf, and earls Paul and Erlend, and Eystein gorcock his brother-in-law, and Thorberg Arni's son. In that land

1066. Battle of Stamford-bridge.

journey came Harold, Godwin's son, against king Harold with an overwhelming host. A great battle arose at once, and in that battle fell Harold Sigurd's son. After the king's fall came Eystein gorcock from the ships, and the earls, and made a very hard onslaught. That battle was called the gorcock's storm or the gorcock's bout. There fell Eystein gorcock and well nigh the whole host of the Northmen. After those fights king Harold gave Olaf Harold's son, and the earls leave to go away out of England, and also to all that host that had not already fled. Olaf sailed out about autumn from Ravensere, and so to the Orkneys. And there they heard these tidings, that on that day and at that hour when Harold fell, his daughter Maria died a sudden death, and it is the talk of men that they have had but one man's life between them. Olaf was that winter in the Orkneys, and he was the greatest friend of the earls his kinsmen. They were brothers' daughters, Thora king Olaf's mother and Ingibjorg the earls' mother. Olaf fared when the spring came east to Norway, and was there taken to be king with Magnus his brother.

A.D. 1066–7. Death of king Harold.

The earls return to the Orkneys.

Olaf the quiet and Magnus kings of Norway, 1067.

But when those brothers ruled the Orkneys, then was their agreement great and good a long while. But when their sons began to grow up, then they became very overbearing men, Hacon and Erling. Magnus was the quietest tempered of them. They were all of them tall and strong, and proper men in all things. Hacon, Paul's son, would be the leader over those brothers [his cousins]; he thought he was more by birth than the sons of Erlend, because he was the daughter's son of earl Hacon Ivar's son and Ragnhilda daughter of king Magnus the good. Hacon would have it that his friends should have a larger lot when there was anything to share than they allowed to the sons of Erlend; but Erlend would not that his sons should have the worst of it there in the isles. Then it so came about that those kinsmen could not be

Disputes between the earls' sons.

Hacon the cause of quarrel.

A.D. 1066–93.

together in peace, and there was danger with them. Then their fathers took a share in the matter; they were to try and make matters up; then a meeting was fixed, and it was soon found out that each of them leant towards his own sons, and they could make no settlement. Now disagreement arose between those brothers, and they parted bad friends, and that many thought great scathe.

Magnus and Hacon come to a settlement.

41. After that kindly men came between them, and seek to settle things; so there was a peace-meeting fixed for them in Hrossey. At that meeting a settlement was made in this way, that then the isles were shared into halves as they had been between Thorfinn and Brusi. So things stood awhile. Hacon was then almost always away war-roving since he had grown up. He became then a very overbearing man, and they (Hacon and his men) were hard on those men who served under those kinsmen, Erlend and his sons. So it came about again that the settlement was broken, and they fared against each other a great force. Havard Gunni's son and all the other noblemen of the earls came one day between them and again brought them together and tried to bring about a settlement. Then Erlend and his sons would not make matters up, so that Hacon was to be there in the isles. But because it seemed to their friends that there was great risk in their quarrels, then they prayed Hacon not to let this stand in the way of peace; but that he would rather fare away out of the isles. They said it would be good counsel if he fared east across the sea to visit his kinsmen, both in Norway and Sweden. And at the beseeching of his men, and also that Hacon was envious of his kinsmen there in the isles, and thought it good to learn the ways of other chiefs, then he granted them their prayer that he would fare away at once out of the isles. Then the settlement was again made by the counsel of good men. After that Hacon fared away out of the isles, first east to Norway, and he found there king Olaf the quiet.

Hacon breaks it, and is forced to leave the Orkneys.

Hacon goes first to Norway to king Olaf the quiet,

This was about the end of his days. There Hacon stayed some time. After that he fared east to Sweden to see king Ingi, Steinkel's son, and he made him welcome. He found there his friends and kinsmen. He reaped there the greatest honour from the friendships of Hacon, his mother's father. He had held rule there from Steinkel, the Swede king, after he had to fly the land before king Harold Sigurd's son. He had grown there to be the greatest friend, both of the king and the men of the land. Another daughter's son of earl Hacon Ivar's son, was Hacon, who was called the Northman; he was father of Eric the wise, who was king in Denmark after king Eric the ever-memorable. Hacon stayed in Sweden a while, and king Ingi was good to him. But when things had gone on so a while then home-sickness came over him to seek west to the isles. Christianity was then young in Sweden; there were then many men who went about with witchcraft, and thought by that to become wise and knowing of many things which had not yet come to pass. King Ingi was a thorough Christian man, and all wizards were loathsome to him. He took great pains to root out those evil ways which had long gone hand in hand with heathendom, but the rulers of the land and the great freeholders took it ill that their bad customs were found fault with. So it came about that the freemen chose them another king, Sweyn, the queen's brother, who still held to his sacrifices to idols, and was called Sacrifice-Sweyn. Before him king Ingi was forced to fly the land into West-Gothland; but the end of their dealings was, that king Ingi took the house over Sweyn's head and burnt him inside it. After that he took all the land under him. Then he still went on rooting out many bad ways.

and then Sweden to king Ingi, circa 1090.

Christianity young in Sweden.

King Ingi is forced to fly before Sweyn.

Ingi returns and burns Sweyn.

42. When Hacon Paul's son was in Sweden, he had heard say that there in the land was a man who went about with wisdom and spaedom, whether he got it by witchcraft or other things. He had a great

Hacon goes to consult a wizard.

A.D. 1090–94. longing to find out this man, and to know whether he could be made wise as to his future fate. And after that he fared to that man, and found him at last dwelling in the woods. There he used to go about to feasts, and told the freemen about their crops and other things. But when he found that man, then he asked him how he might come to power or other good luck. The wizard asked him what manner of man he was. He told him his name and kin, that he was the daughter's son of Hacon Ivar's son. Then said the wizard: "Why wilt thou take of me wisdom The wizard's speech. "or sayings; thou knowest that those kinsmen of "thine of old have had little mind for such like men "as I am, and it may serve thy need that thou shouldest "seek to know thy fate from Olaf the stout, thy "kinsman, the king of Norway, whom ye set all faith "in. But I rather doubt that he would not have "humble-mindedness enough to tell thee what thou "art eager to know, or perhaps be not so mighty Hacon's answer. "either as ye say he is." Then Hacon answers: "I "will not speak ill of him. I think it more likely "that I may not have worthiness enough to take "wisdom from him, than that he may not be so "powerful, that for that reason I should not take "wisdom from him. But this is why I have come "to see thee, because it hath come into my mind that "here neither of us will need to envy the other for The wizard speaks again and consents to help him. "the sake of matters of virtue or belief." That man answers: "It likes me well that I find that thou "thinkest that thou hast all trust where I am, and "before that faith which ye have followed, you and your "other kinsmen. So it is, too, that with you those "who lay themselves out for such things go wondrously "to work. They go about with fasts and wakes, and "deem that therefore those things must be granted "to them which they are eager to know. But though "they take such pains, yet are they all the less wise "of what they desire to know, the more they mix

" themselves up with them; but we lay ourselves A.D.
" under no penance, and yet we are always wise as 1090–94.
" to those things of which our friends think it worth
" while that they should not go on in ignorance.
" Now things will so go with us two that thou shalt
" get this gain from me, as I see clearly that thou
" thinkest thyself better able to get the truth from
" me than from king Ingi's priestly teachers, whom he
" thinks he may put all trust in. Thou shalt come in
" three nights' space, and then we two will try if I
" can tell thee anything which thou art eager to know."

After that they part, and Hacon stays there in those parts, and when three nights were gone by he fared to meet the wizard. He was then in a certain house all alone, and drew his breath heavily when he [Hacon] went in, stroked his brow with his hand, and said it had cost him much ere he became wise of those things which he was to know beforehand. Hacon says he was then willing to hear his future fate. The spaeman began to say: " If thou wilt know thy fate, The wizard
" then is it long to tell about, for that it is great, spaes Ha-
" and because from thy life and labour very great con's for-
" tidings will come to pass; and it is my belief that tune.
" thou wilt come to be sole chief over the Orkneys
" at last, but it may be that thou wilt think it long
" to wait. I trow, also, that thy offspring will rule
" there. But from thy western voyage, which thou
" farest next of all to the Orkneys, very great tidings
" will come about when those things are fulfilled which
" will spring from it. Thou wilt also in thy days let
" that wickedness be done which thou must either
" make atonement for or not to that God in whom
" thou believest. But thy footsteps lie further out
" into the world than I can get to see, but still I
" think that thou wilt bring back thy bones here to
" the northern half of the world. Now have I told
" thee those things that I can at this time, and now
" say how thou wilt like thy day's work. Hacon Hacon's
answer.

A.D. 1090–94.

answers: "A great story is this thou tellest, if it be "sooth, but I think it will go better with my lot "than thou sayest. May be, too, that thou has not "seen all this of a truth." The spaeman bade him believe it or not as he chose, but said that it would come to pass.

Hacon takes leave of Ingi and goes back to Norway.

43. After that Hacon went away to see king Ingi, and stayed with him a short time ere he set his heart on faring to the western lands. Then he took leave of the king to go away. Hacon fared first to Norway to see his kinsman king Magnus, and he made him welcome. Then he learnt those tidings from the Orkneys, that earl Erlend and his sons had it almost all their own way there, and had won very many friends, but Paul his father had little or nothing to do with ruling the land. He thought, too, he made out from those men who came from the west, and in whose words he could put most faith, that the Orkneyingers would long very little for his coming thither west; for they had already good peace and quietness, but feared if Hacon came west that strife and uproar would arise from him. But when Hacon thought of this to himself, then he thought it not unlikely that those kinsmen would hold the realm from him, but let it not be without risk to him if he came thither west without a great force. So he took that counsel to seek to king Magnus that he would bring him to power in the Orkneys.

Death of king Olaf the quiet, 1093.

Magnus barelegs king of Norway, 1094–1102.

King Magnus puts Steigar-Thorir to death, 1094.

This was after that king Magnus had made them put to death Steigar-Thorir and Egil, and freed the land from all strife. Hacon was a wise man, and he thought he could see by king Magnus' talk when they spoke together, that the king would be high-minded and eager to attack the realms of other chiefs. Hacon fell to saying this before the king, that it would be a brave deed for a prince to have out the levy and harry west across the sea, and lay the isles under him, as Harold fair-hair did. Says, too, if he could get rule in the Southern isles, it would be handy to harry thence in

Ireland and Scotland; and if he put the western lands under him, that thence it would be good to strive with the strength of the Northmen against the Englishmen, "and so avenge Harold Sigurd's son, thy father's "father." But when they spoke of this, it was found that this jumped well with the king's temper; he said it was well and bravely spoken, and near his mind. "But that thou shalt keep in mind Hacon," says the king, "if I were to do this after thy words and egging "on, to fare with a host west over the sea, that it must "not come on thee unawares, though I bore on with a "bold claim to those realms which lie away there west, "and make in that no distinction of men." But when Hacon heard this utterance, he grew cold and said very little more about it, and doubted for what these words could be spoken. He left off after that egging on the king to any voyage; but then little was needed, for after this speech the king sent messengers over all his realm that the levy should be out. He laid it bare before all the people that he meant to hold on with that host west over the sea, whatever tidings might happen afterwards in his voyages. So men made ready for this voyage all over the land. King Magnus had with him his son on this voyage, eight winters old, whose name was Sigurd; he was much of a man for his years.

A.D. 1098.

Hacon Paul's son urges king Magnus to go west across the sea.

The king's answer.

King Magnus barelegs' expedition to the west.

44. When those brothers Paul and Erlend ruled over the Orkneys, king Magnus, the son of Olaf the quiet, came from the east out of Norway. He had a mighty host, and many liegemen followed him. Vidkun Johnson, Sigurd Hranis' son, Sark out of Sogn, Dag Eilif's son, Skopti of Gizki, Œgmund, Finn, and Thord; Eyvind elbow the king's marshal. There also was Kali of Agdir Seabear's son, the son of Thorleif the wise, whom Hallfred maimed, and Kol his son. Kali was a very wise man, and dear to the king, and a good rhymer. Now when king Magnus came to the Orkneys, then he seized the earls Paul and Erlend, and sent them east to Norway, but

King Magnus barelegs sends earls Paul and Erlend prisoners to Norway, and sets up his son Sigurd over the Orkneys, 1098.

A.D. 1098. set up his son Sigurd over the isles, and gave him councillors. King Magnus fared to the Southern isles and the earls' sons, Magnus and Erling, sons of earl Erlend, and Hacon, Paul's son, went along with him. But when king Magnus came into the isles, he fell to harrying first in the Lewes, and won them; and in that voyage he won all the Southern isles, and took captive Lögman, the son of Gudred, the king of the Southern isles. Thence he fared south under Bretland (Wales), and had a great battle in Anglesey-sound with two British earls, Hugh the stout and Hugh the proud. They were brothers of Costnami, who was then king in Ireland in Ulster. And when men were getting out their weapons and busking themselves for the fight, Magnus, Erlend's son, sate him down aft in the forecastle, and did not arm himself. The king asked why he sate. He said he had no quarrel with any man there; "that's why I will not fight." The king said: "Get thee away down under the thwarts, " and don't lie here before men's feet, if thou darest " not to fight, for I do not think that faith drives thee " to this." Magnus took a psalter, and sung while the battle lasted, but did not shield himself. This battle was both hard and long, and both spears were thrown and blows struck; it was long so that it could not be seen between them which way the fight would turn. King Magnus shot with a cross-bow, and another man from Helgeland by his side. Hugh the proud fought most sturdily; he was so clad and byrnied that there was no bare spot on him save the eyes. King Magnus bade the man from Helgeland that they should both shoot at him at once, and so they did, and one arrow struck him on his nose-guard, but the other went in at the eye, and flew afterwards through the head. That shot was reckoned to the king.

King Magnus wins the Southern isles.

Hacon, Paul's son, and Magnus and Erling, Erlend's sons, go with him.

King Magnus wins a great battle in Anglesey, circa 1098.

King Magnus shoots earl Hugh the proud.

45. There fell Hugh the proud. After that the British fled and had lost many men; but king Magnus had won a great victory, but had yet lost many good

men, and very many were wounded. So this song was made about it: A.D. 1098.

Song on the battle.

" Bolts on byrnies then came rattling,
" Might and main the monarch fought,
" Agdir's ruler bent his cross-bow,
" Blood on helmets there was sprinkled:
" Bowstrings' hail on mail came flying,
" Men fell fast, and Hordas' king,
" Seeking land with onslaught hard,
" Dealt his deathblow to the earl."

Then king Magnus made Anglesea his own as far south as ever the kings of Norway of old had ever owned it. Anglesea is a trithing of Bretland (Wales). Kali Seabear's son had got many wounds in Anglesea sound, though none of them at once mortal. Afterwards king Magnus turned back by the south course along Scotland.

Magnus, Erlend's son flies from king Magnus,

King Magnus had made Magnus Erlend's son his page, and he served always at the king's board. But after the battle in Anglesey-sound king Magnus took a great dislike to him. He said he had behaved like a coward. It fell on a night when king Magnus lay off Scotland that Magnus Erlend's son ran away from king Magnus' ship when he thought he had the best chance of flying from the king. He jumped overboard and swam to land, and made up his berth so that it seemed as if a man lay there. But when he came to land he ran into the woods, and was in his under-clothing. He struck his foot, and hurt himself much, as he was bare-foot, and so he could walk no longer at that time. He came to a great tree, and climbed up there into the branches, and there bound up his foot, and hid himself there in the branches for some time. But in the morning, when men went to meat on board the king's ship, the king asked where Magnus Erlend's son was. He was told that he was asleep in his berth. The king bade

A.D. 1098. them wake him, and said something else than sleep must have come over him when he lay longer than other men. But when they came to his place, then he was missing. Then the king bade them search for him and let loose the slot hounds. But when the hounds were loose, they came at once on his track, and ran off to the wood, and came to that tree in which Magnus was up. Then one hound ran round and round the oak and bayed. Magnus had a stick in his hand, and threw it at the hound, and hit him on the side. The hound laid his tail between his legs and ran down to the ships, and the others after it. The king's men could not find Magnus. He lay hid for a while in the wood, and was next heard of in the court of Malcolm the king of Scots, and stayed there a while, but sometimes he was in Bretland with a certain bishop. He was sometimes in England, or in other places with his friends, but he did not come back to the Orkneys while king Magnus lived.

and escapes to Malcolm the Scot-king.

Magnus barelegs and Malcolm make peace.

King Magnus held on his course from the south along Scotland, and then came to meet him messengers from Malcolm the king of Scots, and offered him peace. They said thus that the king of Scots would give up to him all those isles that lie to the west of Scotland, between which and the mainland he could sail in a ship with a fixed rudder. But when king Magnus ran in from the south to Cantire, he let them drag a cutter over the neck of Cantire, but he held the tiller, and so took as his own all Cantire. That is better than the best isle in the Southern isles save Man. It goes from the west of Scotland, and has a narrow neck of land at the top of it, so that there ships are very often drawn over. King Magnus held on thence into the Southern isles, but sent his men into Scotland's firths; they were to row in hugging the land on one side, and out hugging it on the other, and so King Magnus claimed as his own all the isles to the west of Scotland. Then the king gave it out that he would sit that winter in the Southern

King Magnus barelegs'

isles, but gave leave to those men who he thought had most need of it to fare home. But when the levies knew that, they became home-sick, and grumbled badly about their being so long away. The king then had a talk with his men and councillors. He went and looked at the wounds of his men. Then the king went to see Kali Seabear's son and asked after his wounds. Kali said they healed very little, and let him know that he could not tell how they would turn out. The king asked counsel of him. Kali asked: "Is it "not so king that now your friends steal away from "you." The king made as though he thought that were not so. Kali bade him call them under arms, and so muster his men. The king did so, and then missed many men. And when the king told this to Kali, then Kali chaunted this:

A.D. 1098–9.

levies leave him.

Kali's counsel to king Magnus.

"How thy wary chiefs reward thee
"For those precious gifts of thine?
"West the vessel's sides are shaking,
"Try our trustiness, O king!"

Then the king answers:

"Ill have I my boons bestowed,
"Boons that brighten face of man,
"Buoyant keel to climb the billow,
"Now must I command in vain."

After this the king kept watch and ward if men ran from him, and let none . . . .[1] When king Magnus was in the Southern isles, then he got as a bride for his son Sigurd, Bjadmunja, daughter of Moorkiartan, Thialbi's son, the Irish king of Connaught. Sigurd was then nine winters old and the maiden five. This winter Kali Seabear's son breathed his last of his wounds. In Anglesey-sound had fallen Sigurd skewer, Kali's kinsman. He was liegeman in Agdir.

Death of Kali.

Next spring early king Magnus fared away from the Southern isles. He fared first to the Orkneys.

1099. Death of earls Paul and Erlend.

[1] The end of this sentence is illegible in the MS.

A.D. 1099-1106. There he heard from the east across the sea of the death of the earls, and how Erlend had died in Nidaros, and was buried there, and Paul in Bergen. In the spring in the Orkneys king Magnus gave away Gunnhilda, the daughter of earl Erlend, to Kol Kali's son, as an atonement for the loss of his father, and some estates in the Orkneys went with her as her dowry, and a homestead in Paplay. Of Erling, the son of earl Erlend, some men say that he had fallen in Anglesey sound, but Snorri Sturla's son says he has fallen in Ulster with king Magnus. Kol Kali's son became king Magnus' liegeman, and fared east into Norway with the king, and home to Agdir with his wife, and settled down on his farms. They, Kol and Gunnhilda, had two children; their son's name was Kali, but their daughter's name was Ingirid. They were both of the greatest promise, and reared up with much love.

Kol Kali's son marries Gunnhilda, earl Erlend's daughter.

Kali Kol's son born.

King Magnus barelegs falls in Ireland, 1102.

46. When king Magnus had ruled the land nine winters, he fared away out of the land west across the sea and harried in Ireland, and was the winter in Connaught. But the summer after he fell in Ulster on Bartholomew's day. But when king Sigurd in the Orkneys heard of his father's fall, he fared at once to Norway, and was there taken to be king with his brothers Eystein and Olaf. Sigurd left behind him over the western sea the daughter of the Irish king. One winter or two after the fall of king Magnus, Hacon Paul's son came from the west across the sea, and the kings gave him the title of earl and such power, as was due to his birth. Then he fared west across the sea and took the realm under him in the Orkneys; he had always followed king Magnus while he lived. He was with him in his warfare east in Gothland, as is said in that lay which was made on Hacon Paul's son.

Sigurd, Eystein, and Olaf joint kings in Norway, 1103.

1106. Hacon Paul's son

47. When earl Hacon had taken the rule in the Orkneys, Magnus earl Erlend's son came down from

Scotland and asked to take his father's heritage. That pleased the freemen well, for he had very many friends. He had there many kinsmen and connexions who were glad to raise him to power. A worthy man named Sigurd then had his mother to wife; their son was Hacon churl; they kept house in Paplay. When earl Hacon heard that earl Magnus was come into the isles, he drew force to himself, and would not give up the Orkneys or share that realm which he had there. After that friends came between them and tried to settle matters. So it came about that they were made friends on those terms, that Hacon gave up half the realm if that were the award of the kings of Norway, and with that this strife was stayed. Magnus fared straightway in the spring to Norway to find king Eystein, for Sigurd had then fared out abroad to Jerusalem. King Eystein made him a hearty welcome, and gave him up his father's inheritance, half the Orkneys and the title of earl. Earl Magnus fared west over the sea to take up his power, and his kinsmen and friends and all the people were glad at that; then the kinship of Hacon and Magnus throve well when friends took part in it. There was then peace and plenty in the Orkneys so long as their friendship lasted.

A.D. 1106–8. earl of the Orkneys. Magnus Erlend's son comes from Scotland and claims half the realm.

King Eystein gives him half the Orkneys and the earldom, 1108.

48. Saint Magnus the isle earl was the most peerless of men, tall of growth, manly, and lively of look, virtuous in his ways, fortunate in fight, a sage in wit, ready-tongued and lordly-minded, lavish of money and high-spirited, quick of counsel and more beloved of his friends than any man; blithe and of kind speech to wise and good men, but hard and unsparing against robbers and sea-rovers; he let many men be slain who harried the freemen and landfolk; he made murderers and thieves be taken, and visited as well on the powerful as on the weak robberies and thieveries and all ill deeds. He was no favourer of his friends in his judgments, for he valued more godly justice than

Earl Magnus' temper and character.

Earl Magnus' temper and character.

A.D. 1106–16.

the distinctions of rank. He was open-handed to chiefs and powerful men, but still he ever showed most care for poor men. In all things he kept straitly God's commandments, and kept down his body in many things which in his praiseworthy life were bright before God, but hidden before men. He then showed his purpose when he asked the hand of a maiden of the most noble race of Scotland, and drank the bridal feast with her; he lived ten years with her so that he fulfilled neither of their lusts, but was pure and spotless of all carnal sins. And when he felt temptation coming over him, then he went into cold water, and asked support of God for himself. Many were those other things and noble virtues which he showed to God himself, but hid from men.

His spotless purity.

Magnus and Hacon agree well together at first, but bad men afterwards set one kinsman against the other.

49. Those kinsmen Magnus and Hacon held the wardship of the land for some while, so that they were well agreed. So it is said in that song which is made of them, that they fought against that chief whose name was Duffnjal, and who was one step further off than the earls' brother's son,[1] and he fell before them. Thorbjorn was the name of a noble man whom they put to death in Burra-firth in Shetland; it is the story of many men that they took the house over his head and burnt him inside it. There are more tidings on which songs have been made which show that they must have been both together, though here it is not fully told about them. But when those kinsmen had ruled the land some time, then again happened, what often and always can happen, that many ill-willing men set about spoiling their kinship. Then unlucky men gathered more about Hacon, for that he was very envious of the friendships and lordliness of his kinsman Magnus.

Earl Magnus and Hacon

50. Two men are they who are named, who were with earl Hacon, and who were the worst of all the

[1] That is, he was their second cousin.

tale-bearers between those kinsmen, Sigurd and Sighvat sock. This slander came so far with the gossip of wicked men, that those kinsmen again gathered forces together, and each earl fared against the other with a great company. Then both of them held on to Hrossey, where the place of meeting of those Orkneyingers was. But when they came there, then each drew up his men in array, and they made them ready to battle. There were then the earls and all the great men, and there too were many friends of both who did all they could to set them at one again. Many then came between them with manliness and goodwill. This meeting was in Lent, a little before Palm Sunday. But because many men of their well-wishers took a share in clearing up these difficulties between them, but would stand by neither to do harm to the other, then they bound their agreement with oaths and handsels.[1] And when some time had gone by after that, then earl Hacon, with falsehood and fair words, settled with the blessed earl Magnus to meet him on a certain day; so that their kinship and steadfast new-made peace should not be turned aside or set at naught. This meeting for a steadfast peace and thorough atonement between them was to be in Easter week that spring on Egil's isle. This pleased earl Magnus well, being, as he was, a thoroughly wholehearted man, far from all doubt, guile, or greed; and each of them was to have two ships, and each just as many men; this both swore, to hold and keep those terms of peace which the wisest men made up their minds to declare between them. But when Eastertide was gone by, each made him ready for this meeting. Earl Magnus summoned to him all those men whom he knew to be kindest-hearted and likeliest to do a good turn to both those kinsmen. He had two long-ships

A.D. 1116. agree to meet at Easter in Egil's isle, and make peace.

[1] The Danish Translation adds "and the wisest men were to decide between them."

A.D. 1116. Earl Magnus goes to Egil's isle. and just as many men as was said. And when he was ready he held on his course to Egil's isle. And as they were rowing in calm over the smooth sea, there rose a billow against the ship which the earl steered and fell on the ship just where the earl sate. The earl's men wondered much at this token, that the billow fell on them in a calm where no man had ever known it to fall before, and where the water under was deep. Then the earl said: "It is not strange "that ye wonder at this, but my thought is, that "this is a foreboding of my life's end; may be that "may happen which was before spaed about earl "Hacon. We should so make up our minds about our "undertaking, that I guess my kinsman Hacon must "not mean to deal fairly by us at this meeting." The earl's men were afraid at these words, when he said he had so short hope as to his life's end, and bade him take heed for his life, and not fare farther trusting in earl Hacon. Earl Magnus answers: "We "shall fare on still, and may all God's will be done "as to our voyage."

Portents on the way.

Speech of earl Magnus.

Earl Hacon's treachery. 51. Now it must be told about earl Hacon, that he summoned to him a great company, and has many warships, and all manned and trimmed as though they were to run out to battle. And when the force came together, the earl makes it clear to the men that he meant at that meeting so to settle matters between himself and earl Magnus, that they should not both of them be over the Orkneys. Many of his men showed themselves well pleased at this purpose, and added many fearful words; and they, Sigurd and Sighvat sock, were among the worst in their utterance. Then men began to row hard, and they fared furiously. Havard Gunni's son was on board the earl's ship, a friend and counsellor of the earls', and a fast friend to both alike. Hacon had hidden from him this bad counsel, which Havard would surely not join in. And when he knew the earl was so steadfast in this bad counsel, then he

Earl Magnus refuses to fly.

jumped from the earl's ship and took to swimming, and swam to an isle where no man dwelt. Earl Magnus came first to Egil's isle with his company, and when they saw Hacon coming, they saw that he had eight warships; he thought he then knew that treachery must be meant. Earl Magnus then betook himself up on the isle with his men, and went to the church to pray, and was there that night, but his men offered to defend him. The earl answers: "I will not lay your "life in risk for me, and if peace is not to be made "between us two kinsmen, then be it as God wills." Then his men thought that what he had said when the billow fell on them was coming true. Now for that he felt sure as to the hours of his life beforehand, whether it was rather from his shrewdness or of godly foreshowing, then he would not fly nor fare far from the meeting of his foes[1]. He prayed earnestly, and let a mass be sung to him. A.D. 1116. Earl Magnus prepares for death.

52. Hacon and his men jumped up in the morning, and ran first to the church, and ransacked it, and did not find the earl. He had gone another way on the isle with two men into a certain hiding-place. And when the saint earl Magnus saw that they sought for him, then he calls out to them, and says where he was; he bade them look nowhere else for him. And when Hacon saw him, then they ran thither with shouts and crash of arms. Earl Magnus was then at his prayers when they came to him, and when he had ended his prayers, then he signed himself (with the cross), and said to earl Hacon, with steadfast heart: "Thou didst not well, kinsman, when thou wentest back "on thy oaths, and it is much to be hoped that thou Earl Hacon and his men seek for earl Magnus. Earl Hacon seizes earl Magnus.

[1] The Danish translation here adds "He did not go into the church for "any other reason than that he "wished to preserve his life. (sic) "There he made his prayers heartily "to God, and commended himself "into his hand. Early the morning after he went out of the "church, and two others with him "by another way down to the shore "into a secret place, and then said "his prayers again to God."

A.D. 1116. Earl Magnus offers earl Hacon three choices.

" doest this more from others badness than thine own. " Now will I offer thee three choices, that thou doest " some one of these rather than break thy oaths and let " me be slain guiltless." Hacon's men asked what offer he made. " That is the first, that I will go south to " Rome, or out far as Jerusalem, and visit holy places, " and have two ships with me out of the land with " what we need to have, and so make atonement for " both of our souls. This I will swear, never to come " back to the Orkneys." To this they said " Nay " at once. Then earl Magnus spoke: " Now seeing that my " life is in your power, and that I have in many things " made myself an outlaw before Almighty God, then send " thou me up into Scotland to some of both our friends, " and let me be there kept in ward, and two men with " me as a pastime. Take thou care then that I may " never be able to get out of that wardship." To this they said " Nay " at once. Magnus spoke: " One choice " is still behind, which I will offer thee, and God " knows that I look more to your soul than to my " life; but still it better beseems thee than to take " away my life. Let me be maimed in my limbs as " thou pleasest, or pluck out my eyes, and set me in

Earl Hacon is willing to accept the last, but his followers force him to slay earl Magnus.

" a dark dungeon." Then earl Hacon spoke: " This " settlement I am ready to take, nor do I ask anything " farther." Then the chiefs sprang up and said to earl Hacon: " We will slay now either of you twain, and " ye two shall not both from this day forth rule the " lands." Then answers earl Hacon: " Slay ye him " rather, for I will rather rule the realm and lands " than die so suddenly." So says Holdbodi, a truthful freeman from the Southern isles, of the parley they had. He was then with Magnus, and another man with him, when they took him captive.

53. So glad was the worthy earl Magnus as though he were bidden to a feast; he neither spoke with hate nor words of wrath. And after this talk he fell to prayer, and hid his face in the palms of his hands,

and shed out many tears before God's eyesight. A.D. 1116. When earl Magnus the saint was done to death, Hacon bade Ofeig his banner-bearer to slay the earl, but he said "Nay" with the greatest wrath. Then he forced Lifolf his cook to kill Magnus, but he began to weep aloud. "Thou shalt not weep for this," said the earl, "for that there is fame in doing such deeds; be "steadfast in thy heart, for thou shalt have my "clothes, as is the wont and law of men of old[1] and "thou shalt not be afraid, for thou doest this against "thy will, and he who forces thee misdoes more than "thou." But when the earl had said this, he threw off his kirtle and gave it to Lifolf. After that he begged leave to say his prayers, and that was granted him. He fell to earth, and gave himself over to God, and brought himself as an offering to him. He not only prayed for himself or his friends, but rather there and then for his foes and banemen, and foregave them with all his heart what they had misdone towards him, and confessed his own misdeeds to God, and prayed that they might be washed off him by the outshedding of his blood, and commended his soul into God's hand, and prayed that God's angels would come to meet his soul, and bear it into the rest of Paradise. Some men say that he took the Lord's Body when the mass was sung to him. When the friend of God was led out to slaughter, he spoke to Lifolf: "Stand thou "before me, and hew me on my head a great wound, "for it beseems not to chop off chiefs' heads like "thieves'; strengthen thyself, wretched man, for I have "prayed for thee to God that he may have mercy "on thee." After that he signed himself [with the cross], and bowed himself to the stroke. And his spirit passed to heaven.

Earl Hacon makes Lifolf his cook kill earl Magnus.

Earl Magnus comforts Lifolf, and begs him not to behead him.

Martyrdom of earl Magnus, 1116.

54. That spot was before mossy and stony. But a little after the worthiness of earl Magnus before God

The holiness of earl Magnus revealed.

[1] The Danish translation adds, "that he shall have one's weapons and "clothes who puts him to death."

A.D. 1116. was so bright that there sprung up a green sward where he was slain, and God showed that, that he was slain for righteousness' sake, and inherited the fairness and greenness of Paradise, which is called the earth of living men. Earl Hacon did not allow the earl to be borne to the church. The death-day of earl Magnus is two nights after Tiburce mass. He had then been earl over the Orkneys seven winters, he and Hacon both together. There had then passed since the fall of king Olaf seventy-four winters. Sigurd and Eystein and Olaf were then kings over Norway. There had then passed since the birth of Christ one thousand and ninety and one winters.[1]

Thora, earl Magnus' mother, makes a feast for earl Hacon, and begs to have her son's body.

53. After the meeting, Thora, the mother of earl Magnus, had bidden both earls to a feast,[2] and now came earl Hacon to the feast after the slaying of earl Magnus the saint. Thora went about waiting on the guests herself, and bore drink to the earl and his men, those who had been at the slaying of her son. And when the drink took hold of the earl, then Thora went before him and said: "Now art thou come

Thora's prayer.

"hither alone, lord, but I looked for you both; wilt "thou now gladden me before the witness of God and "men; be now to me in a son's stead, and I will be to "thee in a mother's stead; I much need now thy pity, "and that thou givest me leave that my son may be "borne to church; be now so with me in my prayer as "thou wouldest wish God to be with thee at doomsday." The earl holds his peace and thinks over the matter, and was sorry for those ill deeds when she begged so meekly with tears that she might have her way about bearing her son to church. He looked at her,

[1] This date is wrong, to agree with the others it should be 1116.

[2] Instead of this sentence the Translation runs thus: — "Wise "men say that in the spring after "they should have been set at one, "Thora, the mother of Magnus, "had bidden them both to be her "guests, and they were to come "straightway to her when they were "reconciled, and came back from "Egil's isle."

and dropped tears, and said to her: "Bury thy son "where it pleases thee." After that earl Magnus was borne to Hrossey, and buried at that Christchurch [in Birsay] which earl Thorfinn made them make. Straightway after that a heavenly light was often seen shining over his grave. Afterwards men began to call upon him often, if they were placed in danger, and their matter was granted at once as they prayed. In the same way a heavenly fragrance was often perceived at his grave, and sick men got back their health thence. Then next men made journeys thither both from the Orkneys and Shetland, who were in weak health, and watched at the tomb of earl Magnus the saint, and got healing for their ailments. But yet men did not dare to spread this abroad while earl Hacon lived. It is also so said, that those men who were most in the treachery against earl Magnus the saint, most of them died ill and harrowing deaths. At that time William was bishop in the Orkneys; he was the first bishop there. The bishop's seat was then at Christchurch in Birsay. William was bishop sixty-six years. He doubted long the holiness of earl Magnus.[1] After the slaying of earl Magnus, Hacon took all the realm under him in the Orkneys; he then made all men take an oath to him who had before served earl Magnus; then he became a great chief, and laid heavy burdens on the friends of earl Magnus, whom he thought had been most against him in their quarrels. But some winters after, Hacon began his voyage out of the land, and fared south to Rome; in that journey he fared out to Jerusalem, thence he sought the halidoms, and bathed in the river Jordan, as is palmers' wont. After that he turned back to his own land, and took under him the realm in the Orkneys. He

A.D. 1116–26. Earl Hacon grants her prayer.

Signs and tokens of earl Magnus' holiness.

Earl Hacon rules the Orkneys.

Earl Hacon goes to Rome and Jerusalem.

[1] Fl. adds, "until his worthiness "was so plainly revealed that God "et his holiness wax higher in the "same proportion as it was more "tried, as is said in his Book of "Tokens and Wonders."

A.D. 1116–26. He becomes a good ruler and lawgiver.

then became a good ruler, and kept his realm well at peace. Then he set up in the Orkneys new laws, which pleased the freemen much better than those that had been before. With such things his friendships began to grow; and so it came about that the Orkneyingers cared for nothing else than to have Hacon for their chief, and his offspring after him.

Helga Moddan's daughter earl Hacon's concubine.

56. At that time, when earl Hacon had rule in the Orkneys, that man dwelt at the Dale in Caithness whose name was Moddan, a man of rank and very wealthy; his daughters were these, Helga and Frakok and Thorleif. Helga, Moddan's daughter, was the concubine of earl Hacon, and their son was Harold, who was called the smooth-tongued, but their daughter was Ingibjorg, whom Olaf bitling[1] the Southern-isle king had to wife, and Margaret was also their daughter.

Her sister Frakok weds Ljot the dastard.

Frakok, Moddan's daughter, was given away to that man in Sutherland whose name was Ljot the dastard, and their daughter was Steinvor the stout, whom

Their sons, daughters, and kinsfolk.

Thorljot in Rackwick had to wife. Their sons were Oliver the unruly and Magnus, and Orm, and Moddan, and Eindrid; and Audhild [was their daughter]. Another daughter of Frakok was Gudrun, whom Thorstein the freeman, dribblemouth, had to wife; their son was Thorbjorn the clerk. Thorleif, Moddans' daughter, had also a daughter whose name was Gunnhilda. (Audhild?) Earl Hacon had also another son, whose name was Paul, and was called hold-tongue; he was gloomy, but

Earl Hacon dies circa 1123.

had many friends. Between those brothers there was never much love lost when they grew up. Earl Hacon Paul's son was smitten to death by sickness there in the isles, and men thought that great scathe, for at the end of his days there was good peace, but the freemen misdoubted much whether those brothers, Paul and Harold, would be of one mind.

Earls Harold and Paul, Ha-

57. After the death of earl Hacon, his sons took the rule, and they were soon of two minds, and shared

[1] *bitling*] i.e. "the little bit" or "the tiny."

the realm into halves. There soon arose great divisions among the great men, and the chieftains threw themselves very much into two sides. Earl Harold held Caithness from the Scot-king, and he was almost always there, but sometimes he was up in Scotland, for he had there many kinsmen and friends. When earl Harold was seated in Sutherland, there came to him that man whose name was Sigurd, who was said to be the son of Ethelbert the priest; he was called snap-deacon; he came down then from Scotland, and had been with David the Scot-king, and he had laid upon him great honours. Earl Harold gave him a very hearty welcome. Sigurd fared out to the Orkneys with earl Harold, and so did Frakok, Moddan's daughter, for that Ljot the dastard, her husband, was then dead. She and her sister Helga had then a great share in ruling the land with earl Harold. Sigurd snap was in great love with all of them. Then Audhild the daughter of Thorleif, Moddan's daughter, followed him as his leman, and their daughter was Ingigerd, whom Hacon claw afterwards had to wife. Eric the straight had before had Audhild to wife; their son was Eric stay-brails. When they, Sigurd and Frakok, came into the isles, a great sundering of followers arose, and each of the earls gather as many of his friends about him as he could. These were dearest to earl Paul, Sigurd of Westness, who had to wife Ingibjorg the honourable, the earl's kinswoman, and Thorkel Summerled's son, who was always with earl Paul, and was called fosterer. He was near of kin to Magnus the saint, and was more beloved of his friends than any man. Now the friends of earl Harold deemed that Thorkell would be the last man to spare those brothers strife for the sake of those griefs which he had suffered from earl Hacon their father. So it came about at last that earl Harold and Sigurd snap fell on Thorkell fosterer and slew him. But when earl Paul heard that, he took the tidings very ill, and gathered

A.D. 1126. con's sons, share the realm between them.

Helga Harold's mother and her sister Frakok come with their kith and kin from Caithness to the Orkneys. 1125-6.

The friends of either earl.

Earl Harold slays Thorkel fosterer.

A.D. 1126. The earls quarrel, but make peace.

force together to him. But then the news came at once to earl Harold, and he, too, drew force to him. But when the friends of both of them were aware of this, they came up and tried to settle matters, and then all men had a share in setting them at one again. Earl Paul was so wrath that he would hear of no terms, unless all those men were sent away who had been at the slaying. But inasmuch as it seemed to the freemen that great harm would come of their strife, then all men threw in their word that they should make friends. So it came about that Sigurd was sent away out of the isles, and those other men whom earl Paul thought were most guilty of the deed. Earl Harold paid up the fines that followed on Thorkell's slaying. It was also said at this peace-making that the kinship of those brothers, Paul and Harold, should be bettered, and they were both to be together at Yule and all the other greatest high-days. Sigurd snap fared away out of the Orkneys, and up into Scotland, and dwelt there awhile with Malcolm the Scot-king in good cheer, and he was there thought to be the doughtiest man in all manly feats. He stayed for a time in Scotland ere he fared out to Jewry.

Sigurd snap sent away from the Orkneys.

Earl Harold makes a great feast at Yule for earl Paul.

Helga Harold's mother and Frakok sew a shirt for earl Paul.

58. It fell out once in the days of those brothers, earl Harold and earl Paul, that they were to keep the Yule feast at Orfir, in the house of earl Harold, and he was to find the fare for both of them. He was busy there working hard in getting ready the feast. Those sisters were there, Frakok and Helga, the earl's mother, and they were sitting in the little room at their sewing. Then earl Harold went into the room, but those sisters sat on the cross-bench, and a new-sewn linen shirt lay between them, white as driven snow. The earl took up the shirt and saw that it was thickly stitched with gold. He asked: "Who owns this precious thing?" Frakok says: "'Tis meant for thy brother Paul." The earl says: "Why work ye so hard at clothes for him? ye do not take as much pains in making me clothes."

A.D. 1127–8.

The earl was just risen up from his bed, and was only in a shirt and linen breeks, and had cast a cloak over his shoulders. He threw off the cloak and unfolded the linen shirt. His mother caught at it, and bad him not be envious though his brother had good clothes. The earl jerked it out of her hand, and got ready to put it on. Then they threw off their wimples and tore their hair[1], and said, his life lay on it if he put on the shirt. They both then wept sore. The earl put it on nevertheless, and let it fall down over him. But as soon as ever the cloth clung about his body, a shiver came over his skin, and straightway after that followed great pain. And from that the earl took to his bed, and lay but a short while ere he breathed his last. That his friends thought great scathe. But at once after the death of earl Harold, earl Paul his brother took all the realm under him with the consent of all the freemen in the Orkneys. Earl Paul reckoned as if Frakok and her sister had meant that precious thing for him which earl Harold had put on, and for that sake he would not have them live there in the isles. Then they fared away with all their kith and kin, first to Caithness, and thence up into Sutherland, to those homesteads which Frakok owned there. There was reared up with her Erlend son of Harold the smoothed-tongued, while he was a youngster. There, too, was reared up Oliver the unruly, the son of Thorljot of Rackwick, and of Steinvor Frakok's daughter. Oliver was the tallest of men, and of very great strength, and wantonly quarrelsome, and a great manslayer; there too was reared up Thorbjorn the clerk, son of Thorstein the freeman and Gudrun Frakok's daughter. There, too, was reared up Margaret, daughter of earl Hacon and Helga Moddan's daughter, and Eric staybrails, Frakok's kinsman. These men were all of great family and great for their own sakes,

Earl Harold seizes it, puts it on, and dies.

Earl Paul banishes Helga and Frakok.

List of their kith and kin.

[1] Fl. reads, "Then Frakok threw off her wimple and tore her hair."

A.D. 1128. and they all thought they had a great claim in the Orkneys to those realms which their kinsman earl Harold had owned. The brothers of Frakok were Angus of the open-hand, and earl Otter in Thurso; he was a man of birth and rank.

Earl Paul sole ruler over the Orkneys.

59. Then Earl Paul ruled the Orkneys, and had very many friends. He was a man of few words, and no speaker at the Things. He let many other men rule the land with him. The earl was courteous and kind to all the land-folk, liberal of money, and spared nothing to his friends. He was not fond of war, and sate much in quiet. There were then in the Orkneys many men of rank who were come from the stock of the earls. There then dwelt at Westness, in Rowsay, a man of rank, whose name was Sigurd; he had to wife Ingibjorg the honourable, but her mother's name was Herbjorg, daughter of earl Paul Thorfinn's son. Their sons were these, Brynjulf and Hacon pike. They were all chieftains of earl Paul. The sons of Havard Gunni's son, were also friends of earl Paul, Magnus, and Hacon claw, and Thorstein and Dufnjal. Their mother was Bergljot, but her mother was Ragnhilda, daughter of earl Paul.[1] Erling was the name of a man; he dwelt at Tankarnes, in Hrossey; he had four sons, all of them proper men. Olaf was the name of a man, and he was Hrolf's son, who dwelt in Gairsay; he had another house at Duncansby in Caithness. Olaf was a man of the greatest strength and power, and had great honours given him by earl Paul. Asleif was the name of his wife. She was wise, and of great family, and was much thought of for her own sake. Waltheof was the name of one of their sons, Sweyn was another, a third Gunni; all these were tall and proper men. Their sister's name was Ingigerd. Sigurd earl's-father-in-law had to wife

List of the men of mark who were in the Orkneys at that time.

[1] *earl Paul*] that is, of earl Paul the 1st, grandfather of earl Paul Hacon's son.

Thora, the mother of Magnus the saint; their son was Hacon churl; that father and son were mighty chiefs. In Rinansey[1] dwelt that woman whose name was Ragna, a worthy housewife. Her son's name was Thorstein, a fine man of good parts. Kugi was the name of a householder in Westray, a wise man and wealthy, at Rapness. Helgi was the name of a householder, a man of worth and power, who lived there in Westray, in a thorpe that was then there. Thorkel flat was the name of a householder in Westray, cross-grained and high and mighty; Thorstein and Haflidi were his sons; they had not many friends. In Swanay in the Pentland firth, dwelt Grim, a man of small means; his sons were these, Asbjorn and Margad, the briskest of men. In the Fair Isle dwelt that man whose name was Dagfinn. Thorstein was the name of a man who dwelt at Flydruness in Hrossey; his sons were Asbjorn crook-eye and Blian; they were all unfriendly cross-grained men. Jaddvor, she was the bastard daughter of earl Erlend, born of a thrall, dwelt at Knarstead, and her son Borgar with her; they were not much beloved. John wing dwelt in Hoy at the Upland. Richard his brother dwelt at the Brink in Stronsay; they were grand men, and kinsmen of Olaf Hrolf's son. Grimkel was the name of a man who dwelt at Gletness. These were all friends of earl Paul, and all the people along with them. These men all come into the story afterwards.—William was then bishop of the Orkneys,[1] and the bishop's seat was at Christchurch in Birsay. There then were wrought ever and anon great tokens from the holiness of earl Magnus when men watched over his tomb, but little stir was made about it because of the rule of earl Paul. Bishop William too took the edge off of what men said about

A.D. 1128.

List of the men of mark who were in the Orkneys in earl Paul Hacon's son's day.

Bishop William, the first bishop in the Orkneys, 1102–1168, refuses to believe in the holiness

[1] *Rinansy*] North Ronaldsay.

[2] Comp. above ch. 55, and Isl. Ann. under the year 1168

of earl Magnus.

the tokens of earl Magnus, and said it was great misbelief to go about with such things.

The signs and tokens wrought at the grave of Saint Magnus in Birsay.

Now we will first of all let the story stop awhile, and rather say something of those glorious tokens which God hath granted for the worth's sake of earl Magnus the saint.

60. BERGFINN Skati's son was the name of a householder in Shetland, and he was blind; he brought two cripples south into the Orkneys; the name of the one was Sigurd and the other's Thorbjorn; they all watched over the tomb of earl Magnus. To all of them earl Magnus the saint appeared, and gave them their health with God; and Bergfinn became so clear-sighted that he saw and knew his right hand from his left, but both the others stood straight up. But some time after, on the eve of the death-day of earl Magnus, four and twenty men in weak health watched over the tomb, and all got cured. Then many men craved that of the bishop, that he would let earl Paul be spoken to, that he would give leave that the tomb should be searched and the halidom [the relics] of earl Magnus taken up. The bishop took that heavily when it was said. It happened one summer that bishop William fared east to Norway, and when he fared back he was late boun, and came to Shetland in autumn, a little before winter set in. Then foul weather arose and mighty storms, but the bishop could not bear to spend his time there, and was eager to get home. After that gales burst upon them, and the winter was come. Then the captain spoke to the bishop, and asked if he would vow for a fair wind not to say anything against taking up the halidom of earl Magnus; the bishop said yea to that, if the weather bettered so that he might sing mass at home on the second Sunday at his

Bishop William still refuses to believe, though Saint Magnus had helped him in his voyage.

bishop's seat. And as soon as ever that vow was fast made, the weather began to change, and came round to their mind, and they had a fair wind to the Orkneys, and such a quick one that the bishop sung mass at home the next Sunday. But even when such things were granted to him, still he would not for all that believe in the holiness of earl Magnus. Earl Paul too laid his displeasure on all those men who spread such stories about. This event happened in Christchurch at Birsay one day that the bishop went into the church, and was at his prayers; he was all alone in the church, but when he stood up and meant to go away, then he became blind, and could not find his way to the doors; he went about a long time seeking if he might get away. Then great fear fell upon him, and with that he fared to the tomb of earl Magnus, and there prayed with tears, and vowed that he would take up the halidom of earl Magnus, whether earl Paul liked it well or ill. And after that he got back his sight there over the tomb. After that the bishop sent to fetch to him all the most noble men in the Orkneys, and made it plain to them that he was ready then to search the tomb of earl Magnus. And when it was dug into, the coffin was taken out of the ground; the bishop then let the bones be washed, and they were of a right fair hue. He let them take a knuckle-bone and proves it thrice in hallowed fire, and it burnt not, but rather became of a hue as though it were gold. It is the story of some men that it had then run into the shape of a cross. Then many tokens were there wrought at the halidom of earl Magnus. Then the body was laid in a shrine and set over the altar. That was on St. Lucia's day.[1] He had then lain in the mould twenty-one winters. Then it was taken as law that each day should be kept holy,—the day that he was taken up

A.D. 1137.

Earl Paul also an unbeliever.

Bishop William at last believes, and takes up the relics of Saint Magnus, 1137.

Signs and tokens at the translation of St. Magnus.

The martyrdom of St. Magnus, April 16, 1116.

[1] *St. Lucia's day*] Comp. Magn. S. Eyjajarls, ch. 31. and ch. 54 above.

The translation, Dec. 13, 1137.

and the day of his death. The halidom of earl Magnus was kept there for some time.—It happened once that a man dreamed a dream in Westray, whose name was Gunni, a good yeoman, that Magnus the saint came to him and said to him: "This shalt thou say to "bishop William, that my will is to fare away from "Birsay and east to Kirkwall, and I trow that "Almighty God will grant me of his mercy that "those men shall be healed of their ailments who seek "thither past hope of cure with right faith. This "dream shalt thou boldly tell." But when Gunni awoke it came all at once into his mind that he must not tell the dream, for that he was afraid that earl Paul would lay his displeasure on him. But the next night after earl Magnus showed himself to him when he slumbered; he was then very wrath [and said]: "Thou "shalt fare to Birsay and tell thy dream when most "men are by; but if thou farest not, thou shalt have "punishment for it in this world and more in the "other world." Then Gunni woke and was full of fear, and fared at once until he came to Birsay to tell his dream before all the people at mass; and earl Paul was there and many other mighty men. Then many begged that the bishop would set about it and bear the halidom east to Kirkwall as the earl had revealed. Earl Paul held his peace as though he had water in his mouth, and turned as red as blood. After that bishop William fared east to Kirkwall with a gallant company, and flitted thither the halidom of earl Magnus, and they set the shrine over the high altar in the church. At that time the market town at Kirkwall had few houses. Then many signs and tokens were straightway wrought there. — A little after Bergfinn Skati's son fared from the north from Shetland the second time to watch over the halidom of earl Magnus, and had with him his leprous son, whose name was Halfdan. Earl Magnus appeared to both of them, and passed his hands over them, and then Halfdan was made

Further signs and tokens.

Gunni of Westray's dream.

Gunni is afraid to tell it.

Wrath of St. Magnus.

Gunni tells his dream in Birsay before all the people.

The halidom and relics of Saint Magnus translated to Kirkwall.

Further signs and tokens wrought at the shrine of Saint Magnus.

Bergfinn and Halfdan from Shetland.

thoroughly whole; but Bergfinn got back his sight, so that he became a sharp-sighted man.—Amundi was the name of a man from the north of Shetland; he had leprosy over all his body; he fared to Kirkwall, and watched at the shrine of earl Magnus the saint, and prayed for help and health for himself; but the holy servant of God, earl Magnus, showed himself to him as he slumbered, and passed his hands over all his body, and when he awoke he was whole and well, and knew no ailment anywhere, and all praised God and earl Magnus the saint.—Thorkel was a man's name who kept house in the Orkneys; he fell down from off his barley-stack right down to the ground, and was all crushed on one side; he was brought to the shrine of the blessed earl Magnus, and there he got back his health.—Sigurd was the name of a man from the north out of Fetlar. His hand was cramped, so that all his fingers lay in the palm; he fared to Kirkwall, and was there made whole.—Thorbjorn was the name of a man, but Gurth was the name of his father; he was from Shetland, and was mad, and was brought to earl Magnus, and became straightway whole.—Thord was the name of a man whose nickname was dragon-shot; he was Bergfinn's hireling of Shetland; he thrashed corn from the halm in the barley barn the next day before St. Lucia's and St. Magnus' day. But when the daylight began to change, then Bergfinn the master went out thither into the barn and bade him strike off work. Thord says: "It doesn't often happen that "thou thinkest that I work over long." Bergfinn said: "To-morrow is St. Magnus' day, which we ought to "hold with all such honour as we best can." Then Bergfinn went away, but Thord worked still as hard as he could. But when a short time had gone by then Bergfinn went a second time and spoke to Thord in mickle wrath, and said he thought there was spite in that, "that thou workest now at holy "tides, and now leave off at once." Then Bergfinn

Further signs and tokens.

Amundi from Shetland.

Thorkell of Orkney.

Sigurd from Fetlar.

Thorbjorn from Shetland.

Thord dragon-shot.

Further signs and tokens.

went away in a rage. But Thord worked on as before. But when men had sat down to the board, and had eaten and were full, Thord came in in his work-a-day clothes, just when men took to drinking, and began to drink at once. But when he had drained one full cup, then he lost his wits at once and got wild, so that men had to hold him and to put him into bonds, and so it went on for three days and nights. Then Bergfinn vowed for him to give half a mark of silver to the shrine of earl Magnus, and to let Thord watch for three nights if he might become whole. But Thord became whole on that night, on the evening of which the vow had just been made. Two men took gold from the shrine of earl Magnus, one an Orkney and the other a Caithness man; the Caithness man was lost in the Pentland firth; his name was Gilli. The Orkney man went mad, and said in his fits what they had done, and then a vow was made for him to go on a pilgrimage south [to Rome], if he might be made whole at the shrine of earl Magnus. Now he was brought thither and became whole at once.—Ogmund was the name of a Shetlander on whose head a cross-beam fell and crushed his skull much, but Bergfinn vowed for him, and cast lots whether the vow should be to go south on a pilgrimage, or to set a slave free, or to give money to earl Magnus' shrine if he were made whole. But the lot turned up to give money for earl Magnus' shrine, and there he became whole. But Bergfinn, his mother's brother, gave half a mark as he had vowed.—Sigrid Sigurd's daughter was the name of a woman from the north out of Shetland, who was blind from childhood and until she was twenty; then her father went with her to earl Magnus, and let her watch there, and gave much goods to the shrine of Magnus, and there she got her sight.—Sigrid was again the name of a woman from Shetland whose leg broke in two bits; she was taken to Magnus and she got back there her health.—Sigrid was the name of a

An Orkney and a Caithness man.

Ogmund of Shetland.

Sigrid the first of Shetland.

Sigrid the second of Shetland.

Further signs and tokens.

third woman from the north out of Shetland in the island of Unst; she was with Thorlak, who kept house at Baltastead;[1] she sewed when other men left off work on the eve of earl Magnus' mass; but Thorlak asked why she worked so long; she said she would leave off there and then. He went away, but she sewed on as before. Then Thorlak went a second time, and asked why she did so ill; "and away with thee," he says, "and don't work in my house." She said she had only a little bit unsewn, and worked on as before until it got dark, and she sate in her place. But when fires were made, and men busked them to eating and drink, then she fell mad and was thrown into bonds, and she was mad until Thorlak vowed a vow for her. He cast lots whether the vow should be a pilgrimage south, or setting a slave free, or giving money to the shrine of earl Magnus the saint, but the lot came up to give money to earl Magnus' shrine. Thorlak brought her thither, and there she became whole, and went south afterwards.—In England were two men who staked much money on casting of dice, and one of them had already lost a large sum. Then he staked a ship of burden and all that he had against all that he had already lost. But the other man threw first two sixes. Then that man thought things looked badly for him, and called on earl Magnus the saint that he might not lose all that he had, and then threw his throw. But one of the dice burst asunder, and there turned up two sixes and ace, and he gained all that lay upon the throw, and after that he gave earl Magnus much goods.—Groa was a woman's name in Hrossey; she became raving mad, and was brought to earl Magnus the saint, and got there her health, and was there all her life after and praised God.—Sigurd was the name of a man; he was Tand's son, he kept house north in

Sigrid the third of Shetland.

Two English gamesters.

Groa in Hrossey.

Further signs and tokens.

[1] Baltastead for Ballaslead in the MS., which would answer to the neighbourhood of the present Baltasound in Unst.

Sigurd, Tand's son.

Shetland, he became devil-mad; and was sewn up in a hide, and was brought afterwards from the north to Kirkwall to earl Magnus the saint, and there he got back his health, and all praised God who were by and his holy bosom-friend earl Magnus.

End of the signs and tokens wrought at the shrine of earl Magnus.

Now is done telling here of those glorious tokens which God grants for the sake of saint Magnus the isle-earl. Now also we must make an end of these stories with this prayer, that he who wrote this Saga, and he who dictated it, and everyone who listened to it, may have intercession and help in their prayers from the holy knight of God earl Magnus, to the absolution of their sins and to everlasting joy; but of our almighty Lord Jesus Christ may they have help and mercy, peace and joy, both now and for ever, from him who is and was and shall be, one true and everlasting God, granting and willing and mighty to give all good things for ever and ever. Amen.

"THE STORY OF EARL ROGNVALD."

The story returns to Kol, who married Gunnhilda, earl Erlend's daughter, and his son Kali, born circa 1100.

CECILIA[1] was the name of a sister of earl Magnus, born in wedlock. She was given away east in Norway, and that man whose name was Isaac had her to wife. Their son's name was Kol. Kol (Kali's son) sate on his farms in Agdir, as was written before, and was the wisest of all men. He did not fare into the Orkneys. Kol was a very shrewd man. Kali his son grew up there, and

[1] This passage from "Cecilia" to "Kol" is an addition of the Danish Translation, M.O. reads, "Kali was the name of a man, "Kol's son, Kali's son, Seabear's "son. Kali was a son of Gunn-"hilda, daughter of earl Erlend, "the son of Thorfinn, the Orkney "earl, who (Kali) after a time "was called Rognvald."

was the most hopeful[1] man, a middleman in growth, well set up, one of the best limbed of men, with light brown hair. He had more friends than most men, and was a more proper man, both in body and mind, than most of the other men of his time. He made this song: A.D. c. 1116.

" Draughts I play with open hand,
" Games and feats so skilful nine;
" Writing runes to me comes ready;
" Books I read and smith's work furnish;
" I can glide on snow-shoon swift;
" Doughtily I shoot and row;
" Either stands at my behest,
" Sweep of harp or burst of song." Kalis' accomplishments.

Kali was almost always with Solmund his kinsman, the son of Sigurd supple. He was [the king's] steward at Tunsberg, and had a house of his own at East Agdir. He was a chief, and had a great following. They were much of an age, those kinsmen.

62. Kali was fifteen winters old when he fared with chapmen west to England, and had good wares for traffic. They held on their course to that town which is called Grimsby. Thither came a very great crowd of men both from Norway, the Orkneys, and from Scotland, and so also from the Southern isles. There Kali met that man who went by the name of Gillikrist.[2] He asked then much about Norway, and Kali goes to Grimsby in England c. 1116.

[1] *hopeful*] that is, " of the greatest promise," as in the English expression " young hopeful."

[2] *Gillikristi*] *i.e.*, " the servant of Christ," one of a series of Celtic names which came in with the conversion of the heathen, and which still remains in the surname Gilchrist. Gillespie, " the bishop's servant," is another; Gillicallum, " St. Columba's servant," another; Gilpatrick, " St. Patrick's servant," another. Of the same character are Melbride [Melbrigði], Malise, Malcolm, and Melmari, which mean respectively St. Bride's, Jesus', St. Columba's and the Virgin Mary's servant; Mail or Maoile, like Gilli or Giolla, being Celtic for servant. Comp. an excellent essay by Munch, on the Runic Inscriptions in the Isle of Man, in the Mémoires dé la Soc. Roy. des Antiquaires du Nord. Copenh. 1845–49.

Kali meets Harold Gilli, king Magnus barelegs' son.

talked most with Kali; there a great fellowship sprung up [between them]. He told Kali as a secret that his name was Harold, and that king Magnus barelegs was his father, but that his mother's stock was in the Southern isles, and some of them in Ireland. He asked Kali how he thought he would be welcomed if he came to Norway. Kali says he thought king Sigurd likely to give him a good welcome if other men did not spoil matters between them. They, Gillikrist and Kali, exchanged gifts at their parting; each promised the other his thorough friendship wherever their next meeting might be. But Gillikrist does not tell his secret to more men in that place.

Kali and Harold Gilli part great friends.

Kali returns to Bergen 1116.

63. After that Kali fared from the west on board the same ship, and they came from abroad at Agdir, and held on thence north to Bergen. Then Kali sang this song:

His verses on Grimsby.

"Weeks of grimmest walking five
"We have waded through the mud;
"In mid Grimsby where we were,
"Was no want of mud and mire.
"Now it is with merry minds,
"O'er the sea-moors[1] that we let,
"Beaked elk[2] across the billow,
"Blithely bound to Bergen home."

His behaviour at Bergen, where he meets John Peter's son.

But when they came to the town, they found there a great crowd of men out the land, both from the north and from the south, and many, too, from other lands, who had flitted thither much goods. Then those shipmates went into the taverns to make merry. Kali was then a great man for dress, and had many braveries with him as he was newly come from England. Then he thought much of himself, and many others thought so too, for he came of a good

[1] *sea-moors*] the waste surface of the sea.
[2] *beaked elk*] the ship.

stock, and was a well-bred man in himself. But in that tavern where he drank he found a young man of rank whose name was John; he was the son of Peter Sark's son of Sogn. He was then one of the king's liegemen. His mother's name was Helga, a daughter of Harek of Sæter. John was a very showy man in his dress. Unna was the name of a worthy housewife who owned the house in which they drank. Then there arose a great fellowship between those two, John and Kali, and they parted with love; John fared then south[1] to Sogn, to his abode, but Kali east to Agdir, to his father. Kali was also often with Solmund his kinsman. So it went on for some half years, that Kali was in the summers on trading voyages, but at home in the winters or with his kinsman Solmund.

A.D. 1116–27.

Kali and John become friends.

64. So it fell out one summer, when Kali had fared north to Drontheim, that he lay weather-bound under that island which is called Doll.[2] In the isle was a great cave, which is called Doll's cave. In the cave was great hope of treasure. The chapmen made ready, and went into the cave, and had the hardest work to make their way there. They came where water stood across the cave, and none dared to fare across the water save Kali and another man, whose name was Havard, Solmund's house-carle. They swam across the water, and had a rope between them. Kali swam first, and had in his hand a blazing torch and a tinder-box between his shoulders.[3] So they swam over the water and came to land. That place was rough and rugged, and there was a great stench, and they could scarce get the light struck. Then Kali

Kali fares north to Drontheim.

Kali and Solmund's house-carle Havard explore Doll's cave. 1127.

[1] So the M.S., it should be "north."

[2] This island was also called Sandey, Fornm. S. xii. 344. It belongs to the province of South Mæren, near Drontheim. The cave is still to be seen on its western shore. Comp. Munch. N. H. iii. 688.

[3] *shoulders*] That is, the materials for striking a light were fastened at the nape of his neck and remained dry.

A.D. 1127. gave out that they would go no farther, and said they should make a beacon there as a memorial. Then Kali sang a song:

Kali's song.

"Here have I built in darksome cave
"Of Doll a beacon high
"To goblin grim of sternest mood,
1127. "So golden store I sought;
"None knows what man of those who work
"The water-skates[1] will wend his way,
"His long and weary path, once more
"Across this water wide."

After that they turned back and came safe and sound to their men, then they fared out of the cave; it is not told about their journey that any tidings happened that summer. They came back to Bergen, and Kali turned into the same tavern to Unna the housewife. There too he found again John Peter's son and his serving-man, whose name was Brynjulf. There were there besides many others of his men, though they are not named. It happened one evening that they John Peter's son and Kali, were gone to sleep, but many sat behind and drank. Then there was much talk, when men were well drunk; and it came about that they spoke of matching one man with another, and of who were thought to be noblest of the king's liegemen in Norway. Brynjulf stood up that John Peter's son was the best bred and best born of the younger men south of Stad;[2] but Havard Kali's companion spoke up for Solmund, and said he was no worse bred than John, and declared that the dwellers in the Bay would set much greater store by him than by John Peter's son. Out of this a great strife arose, and when the ale spoke in them, then no better heed was taken than this, that up jumped Havard and got him a cudgel and gave

Kali and Havard return to Bergen and meet John Peter's son and his serving-man Brynjulf.

Dispute between their men about their masters.

Havard knocks Brynjulf down.

[1] *water-skates*] ships, *i.e.*, what sailor will ever again, &c.

[2] *Stad*] Staðr or Staðir, the westernmost headland in Norway, away from which the coast trends north and south. The expression answers to our "south of the Tweed," or "in the south country."

Brynjulf there and then such a blow on the head that he fell down at once senseless, and men ran to help him up; but Havard was packed off to see Kali, and Kali sent him south into Alvidra to a priest whose name was Richard, "and bring him," he says, "my "message that I beg him to take thee in till I go "home east." Kali got him a man to bear him company, and a boat, and they row away south till they come to Græning Sound. Then Havard said to his fellow-traveller: "Now we two are come beyond the "bark of hounds, and we will rest ourselves here," and with that they lie down to sleep. Now we must take up our story and say that Brynjulf came to his wits, and he was carried to see John, and he tells him all that had happened, and how the man had been packed off there and then. John guessed the truth as to his doings, and made them take a rowing-cutter, and ten men got into her; Brynjulf was there to lead the men. After that they row south, and come south into Græning Sound,[1] when it was getting daylight. Then they saw that a boat lay before them on the beach, "and may be," says Brynjulf, "that these men will be able "to tell us something of Havard." So they went up on land and found them; Havard and his mate were then just awake.. Brynjulf fell on Havard at once with the sword, and both those companions were slain at that meeting. And now Brynjulf and his men fared back to Bergen after these tidings, and tell them to John; and after that all the townsfolk knew them. Kali took the tidings of these slayings very ill; and when men came between him and John, John says that his wish is that Kali shall alone make his award as to the wrong which he thinks he has suffered, but that should be saving the king's right and that of the next of kin to take the feud up. And Kali agreed to those terms, but still there was no love between him and John. Then

A.D. 1127.

Kali sends Havard away.

Brynjulf pursues Havard and overtakes him.

Brynjulf kills Havard and his companion.

John Peter's son allows Kali to make his own award in the matter.

[1] The sound near the island of Græning, now Gröningen, north of Mostr, in South Hördaland.

A.D. 1127. Kali goes home discontented, and tells his father what had happened.

Kali fared home east very soon after that; and when he and his father met, and Kali had told about those tidings and the close of his quarrel, then Kol says: "Methought thou wert showing thyself in a strange "light when thou tookest any atonement before thy "kinsman Solmund were by; now methinks thou hast "come into a strait, and canst take little part in "the matter, except to ask for atonement; and so "would not Solmund do if thy house-carle were slain "and his shipmate." Kali says: "Thou speakest the "truth, no doubt, father, when thou sayest that I have "been too hasty in looking at the matter; but thou "wert too far off to teach me what to do. It will "often be shown too that I am not so deep-witted as "thou, but still I thought this, that Solmund would "be never the nearer his due though I forsook that "which was offered to me; and I do not call it a "disgrace either to Solmund or to thee to accept the "right to fix your own terms from John for your "share in the suit, if he offers it you, though I very "much doubt whether there is any need for you to "take up the matter. But as for myself, I call myself "quite free as to Brynjulf, so long as I have come to "no final utterance in the matter, and taken no money "in atonement." So that father and son talked much together, and each of them drew his own way about it;[1] then they sent men to tell Solmund those tidings. After that Kol and Kali and Solmund met; Kol wished that men should be sent to John to seek for an atonement; but Solmund and Hallvard, Havard's brother, would hear of nothing but revenge, man for man; and said it was unseemly to ask a Sogn man for atonement. But for all that the plan was taken which Kol wished, with this understanding, that Kol gave his word not to withdraw from this suit before Solmund got what was due to his honour. Kol too was to have the whole management of the matter in his hands. But when

Kol and Kali dispute about Havard's death.

Kol and Kali cannot agree.

Solmund and Hallvard, Havard's brother, insist on revenge.

[1] Fl. "each thought his own way about it."

the messengers came back, they say that their business A.D. 1127.
was taken up slowly and unwillingly; and John refused John Peter's son refuses to make an atonement.
right out to atone for that man with money who had
before made himself an outlaw by his deeds. Solmund
said that had gone just after his guess, that it would
bring them little honour to ask John for an atonement;
and now he begged Kol to give them some advice that
was worth having. Kol says: "Will Hallvard run any Kol's plan for vengeance.
risk to get revenge for "his brother, and may be that
"after all there may be little brought about." Hallvard
said he would not spare himself to get revenge for his
brother, even though there were risk of life in it. Kol Kol sends Hallvard to Sogn to his friend Uni.
says: "Then shalt thou fare north stealthily to Sogn to
"that man whose name is Uni; he dwells hard by
"John: he is a wise man and rather short of money,
"for John has long elbowed him out of his means. He
"is a great friend [of mine,] and now rather stricken in
"years. To him thou shalt bring six marks weighed,
"which I send him that he may lay some plan how
"thou mayest wreak thy revenge on Brynjulf, or
"some other man of John's household, whom he will
"think not less loss [than Brynjulf.] But if this
"deed be fulfilled, then Uni shall send thee on to
"Studla[1] to Kyrping-Worm my kinsman, and his sons
"Ogmund and Erling, and then methinks thou art as
"good as come home. Bid Uni after that to sell his
"land, and change his abode hither to me." Now
Hallvard busked him to this journey, and nothing is Hallvard sets off for Uni's house.
told of how he fared, or where his night-quarters were,
before he came one day at evening to Uni's house, and
did not call himself by his own name. Uni and his His meeting and talk with him.
household asked him about the news of the day, and
at night when men sat by the firēs, then the guest
asked much about high-born men there in Sogn and
Hördaland. Uni said that none of the king's liegemen
there was thought more powerful than John, both for
his birth's sake, but still more for his unfairness, and
asked whether they had not some keepsakes of that

[1] Now Stöle in South Hördaland.

A.D. 1127. down south in the land. The guest he said little when he [Uni] spoke thus; and after that men dropped off from the fires one by one, so that at last they two were left behind. Then Uni began to speak, and said thus: "Is thy name Hallvard, pray?" says he. "Nay," says the guest, and again gave the name he had given in the evening. Then Uni said: "Off then is my difficulty," says he, "and yet I would have thought that if my "name were Brynjulf, thine would be Hallvard; but "still we two will now go to sleep." Then the guest took hold of him, and said: "No, we two will not go yet," and with that he handed him over the bag of money, and says that Kol sent him that silver, with his greeting, "and why he sends it is that thou mayest "lay a plan with me that I may fulfil my revenge "for my brother," and then he tells him all Kol's counsel. Uni said: "Kol were worthy of good from "me, but I cannot tell how it is fated as to revenge "on Brynjulf; but he is looked for hither to-morrow "to fetch clothes from his sweetheart." And now Uni led him out to the horse-stable which stood before the door outside, and stowed him away there in the manger. That was before men rose, but he had lain in-doors during the night. Now, when Hallvard had been a little while in the horse-stable, he saw how a huge man had come up to the homestead, and calls out that the woman must be quick; she took her clothes, and carries them out. Then Hallvard thinks he knows who it must be. So he goes out. Brynjulf had laid aside his arms while he tied up the clothes which the woman brought, and as soon as ever they meet, Hallvard smites Brynjulf his death-blow, and then went back again into the horse-stable, and hid himself there. While the slaying was going on the woman had gone into the house to kiss and take leave of her friends in the household; and when she came out she saw the tokens of the deed, and ran in with a great shriek, and was in such a fright that she was just about to faint away, but still she told them what had happened.

Hallvard gives Uni Kol's message and the money.

Uni puts him in the way to get vengeance.

Brynjulf comes at dawn to Uni's house.

Hallvard slays Brynjulf, and hides himself in the horse-stable.

A.D. 1127–28.

Goodman Uni ran out, and said that the guest must have been a hired murderer, and sent a man at once to John to tell these tidings, and egged on men as much as he could to search for the man, and for that no man suspected him of having anything to do with the deed. Hallvard was in the horse-stable till the hottest of the chase had passed off, but after that he fared by Uni's help and counsel till he came to Studla to Worm and his sons, and they got him company home east. Kol and Solmund made him welcome, and were well pleased with their share in the matter; and now these tidings are noised abroad, and men become aware of the truth. Now John is heavily displeased at this, and so that winter and the summer after pass away; and the next winter when Yule was drawing on, John busked him from home with thirty men, and gave it out that he meant to go on a journey to see his kinsfolk up at Sæter to the house of Harek, his mother's father, and so he did, and gets there a hearty welcome. And when those kinsmen were talking together, John says that he means to go thence to East Agdir to look up Solmund. Harek tried to turn him from this, and said he had not got the worst of it, though they [John and Solmund] parted as they were. John said he would not be content that Brynjulf should be unavenged. Harek said he thought his lot would not be bettered, though they [John and Solmund] had any further dealings in the matter; but still he had with him away thence thirty men, and so they fared east with half a hundred men[1] by the upper road, and thought to come unawares upon Solmund and Kol. But when John was newly gone from home, Uni bestirred himself and fared south to Studla to see Worm, and that father and son got him company south to Kol, and he came there at Yule, and told them he thought that John was on his way to attack them. Kol sends out spies

Uni raises a hue and cry after him, but finds means to send him to Studla.

Hallvard gets back safe home.

John's anger at Brynjulf's death.

John's journey to Sæter.

John sets off to take vengeance on Solmund.

Uni goes to Kol and gives him warning.

[1] That is with sixty, half the long hundred of 120. Thirty of his own people and thirty of Harek's.

A.D. 1128–9. at once on all the ways about him, by which he looked that John might come, and he fared to find Solmund; and those kinsmen sat with a great company. News came to them about John's journey, and they fared against him; their meeting was in a wood; they fell at once to battle; Kol and his men were far more in number, and had the victory. But John lost many men and fled himself into the woods. He got a wound in his leg, and that healed so ill that he was halt ever after, and was called limp-leg John. He came home north in Lent, and his journey was thought most shameful. So now this winter wore away. But the summer after John made them slay two of Kol's kinsmen, Gunnar and Aslak. A little after king Sigurd came to the town,[1] and this difficulty was brought before him. After that the king sent word to both sides, and summoned them to him. Then they came to the king, with their kinsfolk and friends; then an atonement was sought, and the end of it was that the king's doom should pass upon all their quarrels, and either side plighted their troth to the other. King Sigurd made a settlement between them with the advice of the best men. It was so fixed in that settlement that John Peter's son should take Ingirid Kol's daughter to wife, and then friendship would spring up with those ties, while the manslaughters [of Havard and Brynjulf] were to be set off one against the other. The attack on Kol and John's wound were set off against the loss of men away there east, but the wounds on either side were matched together and set off, and those that were odd were atoned for in money. Each side too was to yield help to the other both at home and abroad. It followed also on this settlement that king Sigurd gave Kali Kol's son half the Orkneys with earl Paul Hacon's son, and the title of earl too. He also gave him the name of earl Rognvald Brusi's son, because his mother Gunnhilda said that he had been

Koli and Solmund march to meet John.

John Peter's son is defeated and wounded.

King Sigurd makes up the quarrel. John marries Ingirid Kol's daughter.

King Sigurd gives Kali the title of earl and half the

[1] That is to the town of Bergen.

the most proper man of all the Orkney earls, and thought the name would bring good luck. This share of the Orkneys Saint Magnus had owned, Rognvald-Kali's mother's brother. After this atonement they parted with great love-tokens; they who had erewhile been foes.

A.D. 1129–30. Orkneys, and changes his name to Rognvald.

65. That winter after king Sigurd sat in Oslo,[1] but about the spring in Lent he took a sickness, and breathed his last one night after Lady-day. His son Magnus was then in the town there, and held a Thing at once, and was taken to be king over all the land according to the oath which men had sworn to king Sigurd. Then he took the king's treasures into his power. Harold Gilli was then at Tunsberg,[2] when he heard of king Sigurd's death, then he held meetings with his friends. Then he sent for Rognvald and his kindred, for he had always been his friend[3] since they met in England. That father and son too had most hand in Harold's clearing himself by ordeal before king Sigurd, with the help of other liegemen, Ingimar Sweyn's son and Thiostolf Ali's son. The counsel of Harold and his friends was to hold the Hauga-Thing there in Tunsberg. There Harold was taken to be king over half the land. Then those were called force-oaths[4] by which he had sworn away his fathers inheritance out of his hands before they would let him take the ordeal. Then men flocked to him and became hand-bound to him, and he gathered a

Death of king Sigurd, 1130.

The kingdom shared between his son Magnus and Harold Gilli.

1130–33. Harold Gilli and Magnus Sigurd's son strive for the crown.

Kol and Rognvald stand by Harold.

[1] *Oslo*] Now Christiania, a town of much importance in ancient times.

[2] *Tunsberg*] Now Tönsberg, a great mart in ancient times on the western shore of "the Bay." By "the Bay" was meant the great Gulf in the south of Norway, the entrance to which is the Skaw, and at the bottom of which lies the Christiania firth. The district round the Gulf was also called "the Bay," and the inhabitants were called "Bay-dwellers."

[3] The Danish Translation reads "he sent messengers after Kali, "who at that time was called "Rognvald, and his father Kol, "for Rognvald had always been "his friend."

[4] As we should say oaths taken under duress, and therefore not binding.

A.D. 1130–34.

very great company. Then words passed between those kinsmen. And it was so that seven nights passed ere a settlement was brought about on these terms, that each of them should have half the land against the other; but king Magnus had (beside) king Sigurd's long-ship and his table furniture and all his treasures, and yet he still was not content with his share. He fastened feuds on all Harold's friends. King Magnus too would not let that gift hold good by which king Sigurd gave the Orkneys and the earldom to Rognvald, because he clung very fast to Harold's cause in all their quarrels, and would never leave his cause till all their quarrels were brought to an end. They, Magnus and Harold, were three winters kings over Norway, so that their settlement might be said to hold good, but the fourth summer they fought at Fyrileif;[1] then king Magnus had near sixty hundred men, but Harold had fifteen hundred. These chiefs were with Harold: Kristred his brother, earl Rognvald, Ingimar of Ask, Thiostolf Ali's son, and Solmund. King Magnus got the victory, but king Harold fled. There fell Kristred and Ingimar. He [Ingimar] chanted this song:—

Settlement between Harold and Magnus.

King Magnus refuses to allow the gift of his father to Rognvald to hold good.

King Magnus and king Harold fight at Fyrileif, 1134.

King Magnus conquers.

Ingimar's death-song.

"Fiends befooled me
"To Fyrileif field,
"Aye was I unwilling
"For onslaught of war;
"Me bit bolts bitter
"From crossbow sped,
"Ne'er again shall I
"To Ask[2] go back."

King Harold flies to Denmark

King Harold fled east to the Bay to his ships, and fared south to Denmark to find king Eric the ever-memorable. He gave him Halland as a lordship and

[1] *Fyrileif*] A place on the east side of "the Bay," in the Norwegian province, called of old Ránríki, but to which the Swedish Båhuslen now answers.

[2] Now Asköe, an island off the town of Bergen.

eight long-ships without tackle. Thiostolf Ali's son sold his lands for ships and arms, and went to seek king Harold south in Denmark that autumn. King Harold came towards Yule to Bergen, and lay over Yule-tide in Floru-voe.[1] But after Yule they run up to the town, and there was but a little struggle; king Magnus was taken captive on board his ship and maimed, but king Harold took all the land under his sway. But the next spring after king Harold renewed the gift to Rognvald about the isles, and the title of earl as well.

A.D. 1134–5. and comes back to Bergen at Yule, 1134. King Magnus is taken prisoner and maimed. King Harold renews the gift to Rognvald, 1135.

66. Kol gave this advice to send men to the Orkneys at once after this, and [Rognvald] begged earl Paul that he would give up half the isles as king Harold had given them to him; then friendship and thorough kinship should spring up between them. But if earl Paul refused these things, then these very same men should fare to find Frakok and Oliver the unruly, and offer them half the lands with earl Rognvald, if they would seek to get it from earl Paul with a host. But when these men came to the Orkneys and saw earl Paul, and brought forward their errand there, then earl Paul answers: "I understand this "claim, how it is made with mickle cunning and fore- "thought; they have betaken themselves to the kings "of Norway to get the realm away from under me. "Now I will not reward that faithlessness by giving "up my realm to those who come no nearer to me "than Rognvald, and by refusing it to my brother's "son and my sister's son. There is no need here of "long words, for I will guard the Orkneys by the "strength of my friends and kinsfolk while God grants "me life to do so." Then the messengers saw how their errand was likely to turn out there. So they fared away, and went south over the Pentland firth to Caithness, and so into Sutherland to find Frakok, and tell their errand there, how earl Rognvald and

Kol's counsel. Rognvald sends messengers to earl Paul. Earl Paul refuses to share the realm with Rognvald. The messengers go to Frakok and Oliver the unruly, and offer them half

[1] A creek, or "voe," near Bergen.

A.D. 1135–6.

Kol offer Oliver and Frakok half the Orkneys if they will win them back from earl Paul. Frakok speaks thus: "True it is that Kol is a very wise man, and "wisely has it been seen to in this plan to look "hither for strength, because we kinsfolk have great "strength, and many men bound to us by ties. I "have now given away Margaret Hacon's daughter to "earl Moddan of Athole, who is noblest of all the "Scottish-chiefs by birth. Melmari his father was "brother of Malcolm the Scot-king, father of David, "who is now the Scot-king. We have also," she said, "many true claims to the Orkneys, but we are "ourselves something of schemers, and we are said "to be rather deep-witted, so that this strife does not "come upon us unawares; but still it seems good to "me to join fellowship with that father and son for "many things' sake. Ye shall say these my words to "Kol and Rognvald that we two, Oliver and I, will "come to the Orkneys next summer at midsummer, "with a host to fall on earl Paul; let Rognvald and "his men come thither then to meet us, and let us then "fight it out with earl Paul; but this winter I will "draw strength to me out of Scotland and the "Southern isles from my kinsfolk and friends and "connexions." Now the messengers fare back east to Norway, and tell that father and son how they had sped.

the realm if they will join earl Rognvald. Frakok's answer.

Frakok and Oliver promise to meet Rognvald in the Orkneys next summer.

The messengers return to Norway.

67. That winter after this earl Rognvald busked him to fare west, and these chiefs with him, Solmund and John; they fared in the course of the summer after, and had picked men, though not many; (and) five or six ships. They come off Shetland at midsummer and heard nothing of Frakok. Then high and foul winds arose, and they laid their ships up in Alasound,[1] but fared about to feasts and free-quarters over the land and the freemen made them good cheer. But of Frakok it must be told that she fares in the spring

Earl Rognvald busks him to the voyage, and John and Solmund go with him.

They reach Shetland.

1136.

[1] *Alasound*] Yell Sound.

out to the Southern isles, and she and Oliver gather force thence to themselves in men and ships; they got twelve ships, and all of them small and rather thinly manned. And near midsummer they held on for the Orkneys, and mean to meet earl Rognvald, as was said; they were slow in getting a wind. There Oliver the unruly was leader of that host, and the earldom in the Orkneys was meant for him if they could get it. Frakok was there in the fleet too, and many of her kith and kin. A.D. 1136. Frakok and Oliver gather force from the Southern isles.

68. Earl Paul was then at Westness in Rowsay at a feast with Sigurd, when he heard that earl Rognvald was come to Shetland; then too was heard how a host was gathering together in the Southern isles to attack them. Then the earl sent word to Kugi in Westray, and to Thorkell flayer, they were wise men; and many other chieftains he summoned to him. At this meeting the earl asked counsel of his friends, but they did not all look on the matter in one way; some wished to share the realm with one or other [of the foe], and not to have both against them, but some advised that the earl should fare over to the Ness to his friends, and see what force he could get there. Earl Paul answers: "I will not now offer my "realm to those to whom I refused it then right out "when they sought it by fair means; methinks too it "is unchieftainlike to fly my land without one trial "of strength; I will take that counsel to send men "to-night round all the isles to gather force, and let "us fare against Rognvald and his men as soon as we "can, and let our quarrel come to the sword's point "ere the South-islanders come." This plan was taken which the earl spoke of. That man was then with earl Paul, whose name was Sweyn breastrope; he was one of the earl's body-guard, and well honoured of him; he was ever on viking voyages in the summer, but the winters he spent with earl Paul. Sweyn was a tall, strong man, swarthy and rather unlucky-looking; Earl Paul in Rowsay. Earl Paul takes counsel, and resolves to go against Rognvald before the South islanders came.

A.D. 1136. Sweyn breastrope and his black arts.

he was very fond of the old faith, and had all his life lain out at night [to follow his black arts]. He was one of the earl's forecastle men. These chiefs came at once that night to earl Paul; Eyvind Melbrigdi's son; he had a long-ship fully manned. Olaf Hrolf's son of Gairsay had another, Thorkell flayer a third, Sigurd the master of the house there a fourth, the fifth the earl had himself. With these five ships they hold on to Hrossey, and come there on the evening of the fifth day of the week (Thursday evening) at sun-down; then force flocked to them during the night, but they got no more ships. They meant the day after to sail to Shetland against Rognvald and his men. But next morning, when it had got light, and the sun was just up, those men came to the earl, who said they had seen long-ships faring from the south on the Pentland firth; they said they could not tell whether there were ten or twelve of them. The earl and his men made up their minds that there must be coming Frakok's host. Then the earl bade them to get ready to row against them as hard and as fast as they could. Then they, Olaf and Sigurd begged him to take time about it, and said men would come into them every hour. And lo! as they rowed east from Tankarness, long-ships come sailing against them from the east round the Mull, and they were twelve in all. Then the earl and his men lashed their ships together. Then came to him Erling, the master of Tankarness, and his sons, and offered him his help. By that time they were so thronged on board their ships that they thought they could find room for no more men. Then the earl bade Erling to bring down stones for them while they were in no risk of attack. And when they had made all clear for fight, Oliver and his side came up, and gave them an onslaught by rowing at once, and they had far more men, but smaller ships. Oliver had a great ship, and he laid that against the earl's ship. There was then the

Earl Paul fares with five ships to Hrossey, and means to sail next day for Shetland.

Just then Oliver the unruly sails up with twelve ships.

The sea-fight off Tankarness.

hardest fight. Olaf Hrolf's son, laid his ship against A.D. 1136.
the smaller ships of Oliver, and there was a great difference in the height of the sides, and in a short while he cleared the decks of three ships. Oliver made such a hard onslaught on the earl's ship, that all the forecastle men gave way and fled aft of the mast. Then Oliver egged on his men to board, and goes himself the first man up. Sweyn breastrope was the foremost of all the earl's men, and fought most stoutly. Earl Paul sees now that Oliver was come up on board his ship, and eggs on his men fast; he leaps down himself from the poop, and springs forward in the ship, and when Oliver saw that, he snatched up a boat-hook, and hurled it at the earl, and it fell upon his shield, and down he fell at once on the planks. Then there was a great shout. And at that moment Sweyn breastrope snatched up a great stone and hurled it at Oliver, and hit him full in the breast; the blow was so great that he tumbled at once overboard, and sank in the sea. His men got hold of him, and then he was drawn up into his ship, and he lay there senseless, and men knew not whether he were dead or alive. Then some ran and hewed the lashings asunder, and were for flying, and then all Oliver's men were driven down from the earl's ship. Then they took to flying. Just then Oliver came to himself, and bade them not to fly; but then no one made as though he knew what he said: The earl chased the flying ships east of Hrossey, and so farther east of Hrossey and Rognvaldsey, and so into the Pentland firth; then they drew away from one another. Then the earl turns back, and where they had fought five ships of Oliver's fleet lay empty and unmanned. The earl took them for his own, and manned them with his followers. The fight took place on the Fastday [Friday], but that night the earl made them put their ships into trim. Then many men gathered to him, and two long-ships. Next morning he had twelve ships, and all in good trim and well manned. Saturday he sailed to Shetland, and came by

Oliver the unruly boards the earl's ship.

The earl rushes forward and Oliver knocks him down.

Sweyn breastrope throws a stone at Oliver and knocks him overboard. Oliver's men pick him up and fly.

Earl Paul chases them, and takes five of Oliver's ships.

Earl Paul sails to Shetland

A.D. 1136. and surprises and takes earl Rognvald's ships.

night into Alasound unawares to those who watched earl Rognvald's ships; then earl Paul made them slay the men, but took the ships and the goods to himself. But next morning news came to Rognvald and his men; they rush together and had a great gathering of the freemen; after that they fared down to the strand, and then egg on Paul and his men to come on shore and fight with them. But earl Paul put no trust in the Shetlanders, and therefore would not go on land, but offered that they should get them ships and fight it out on shipboard. But Rognvald and his men saw that they could get no ships in which they could fight on fair terms. And so they parted as things stood. Earl Paul and his men fared back to the Orkneys, but earl Rognvald and his men were in Shetland all that summer, but at autumn they got carried in ships to Norway by divers chapmen, and their voyage was thought rather shameful. But when earl Rognvald came home, and he and his father met, Kol asks whether Rognvald was ill content with his lot. He says he thinks very little had come of his errand, and that little rather unworthily. Kol says: "I do not think "so though; methinks the errand has been good, and "that much has been done if the Shetlanders are "your friends, and that it is better to have gone "than not to have gone." Rognvald says: "If thou "praisest this voyage, then it must either be that "thou must care less about our lot than I thought, "or thou must see something in our voyage which "we have not yet thought of seeing. I should be "very glad now that thou shouldest lay down a "plan for us and be thyself on the voyage with us." Kol says: "Both of these things now shall not be "done; say all your work is easy, but come one self's "never near the spot. I shall be very glad to use my "counsel so as not to swerve from your honour." Rognvald answers: "We will willingly follow the "advice thou givest." Kol says: "My first advice is "that thou sendest word to king Harold and other of

Earl Paul refuses to fight it out on land, and earl Rognvald on shipboard.

Earl Paul goes back to the Orkneys, and earl Rognvald and his men return to Norway in merchants' ships.

Kol and Rognvald talk the matter over.

Kol's advice.

" thy friends that they get thee force and ships for A.D. 1136.
" a western voyage early in the spring, but we will
" draw to us all the strength we can get this winter,
" and let us so lay our plans this second time that
" one of two things may be, either that we get the
" Orkneys, or else lay our bones there." Rognvald answers: "The thought dwells in my mind not to
" fare on many more such voyages as this which we
" have now fared; and such, I ween, is the thought
" of most of those who lately fared with us."

69. Earl Paul fared to the Orkneys after that he had taken the ships of earl Rognvald and his men; he had then to boast over a great victory. Then he had a great feast and bade to him his chieftains. There then was taken that counsel to pile up[1] a beacon in the Fair Isle; fire was to be put to it if a host were seen sailing from Shetland. Then there was another on Rinansey [North Ronaldsay], and so on in more of the isles, so that it might be seen all over the isles if war were coming on them. Then too men were set to call out men round all the islands; Thorstein Havard's son, Gunni's son, was to have Rinansey, but his brother Magnus was to have Sanday, Kugi [was to be on the watch] round Westray, Sigurd of Westness on Rowsay, Olaf Hrolf's son fared to Duncansby in Caithness, and had the wardship there. His son Waltheof dwelt then in Stronsay. Then earl Paul granted gifts to his friends, and all promised him their thorough friendship. He kept many men about him that autumn, until he learned that Rognvald and his men were away from Shetland. Then no tidings happened in the islands, and so it went on up to Yule. Earl Paul had a great Yule-feast, and made ready for it at that homestead of his which is called Orfir;

Earl Paul in Rowsay. Beacons built in the Fair Isle and other islands to give warning if the foe sailed from Shetland.

Earl Paul's Yule-feast at Orfir.

[1] The Danish Translation paraphrases the passage: "Then that
" counsel was taken that they
" should bring together heath, wood,
" and tar on the highest hills in the
" Fair Isle, and make out of them
" a pile or heap of wood; that
" they called a beacon."

A.D. 1136. he bade thither many noble men. Thither was bidden
Death of Waltheof Olaf's son. Waltheof Olaf's son out of Stronsay.[1] They set off ten of them in a ten-oared boat, and they were all lost in the West-firth the day before Yule, and that was thought great tidings, for Waltheof one of the best-bred of men. His father Olaf had a great train of followers in Caithness; there were his sons Sweyn and Gunni, and the sons of Grim of Swanay, Asbjorn and Margad, but Asleif the mistress of the house and her son Gunni had gone to a feast at a friend's house no long way off. These tidings happened at Duncansby three nights
Sweyn Olaf's son goes out to fish. before Yule that Sweyn Olaf's son had rowed out to fish, and those brothers Asbjorn and Margad with him. They always went about with him, and were the briskest and bravest of men. But in the night after they had gone away came Oliver the unruly to Dun-
Oliver the unruly burns Olaf Hrolf's son. cansby with that train which had followed him on his viking voyage that summer, and seized the house over Olaf's head and set fire to it at once, and burned him inside it and six men with him, but allowed the others in the house to go out. They took there all the chattels and goods, and went away after they had done
Sweyn Asleif's son betakes him to earl Paul at Orfir. that deed. Sweyn, who was afterwards called Asleif's son, came home before the first day of Yule, and fared at once north on the Pentland firth; he came about midnight to Swanay to the house of Grim, the father of Asbjorn and his brother. Grim got into a ship with them, and they put Sweyn across to Knarstead on Scapa-neck. Arnkell was the name of the man who kept house there, and his sons' names were Hanef and Sigurd. Grim and his sons turned back thence, and Sweyn gave Grim a gold finger-ring. Hanef and his brother Sigurd brought Sweyn to Orfir; there he had a hearty welcome; men guided him to Eyvind Melbrigdi's son, Sweyn's kinsman. Eyvind led Sweyn before earl Paul, and the earl greeted Sweyn well, and asked him what news, but Sweyn tells the death of

[1] So the Danish Translation. Fl. reads "Stroma" (badly).

his father, with all that had happened. The earl was ill pleased at that, and said that he had suffered a great loss; he asked Sweyn to be with him, and said that he would do him great honour. Sweyn thanks the earl kindly for his bidding, and said he would willingly accept it. A.D. 1136.

70. After that men went to even-song. There was a great homestead there, and it stood on the side of a slope, and there was a steep hill at the back of the house, and when one came on to the brow of the hill, Orrida-firth lay down below. In it lies Damsay. There was a castle in the island, and that man guarded it whose name was Blann, a son of Thorstein of Flidruness. There in Orfir was a great drinking-hall, and there was a door at the east gable from the south in the side wall, and a noble church stood before the hall door, and one went down steps from the hall into the church. But as one went into the hall, there was on the left hand a great flat stone, and further on inside ale-casks, both many and great, but when one passed through the doorway there was a small room facing one.[1] When men were come from even-song, they were ranged in seats. The earl made Sweyn Asleif's son sit next to him on the inside, but on the outside of the earl Sweyn breastrope sat next him, and then John the kinsman of Sweyn breastrope. When the board was cleared those men came who told of the drowning of Waltheof Olaf's son; and the earl thought that great news. Then the earl bade that no one should tease Sweyn Asleif's son while Yule lasted, and said that even then he would have enough to think on. And at even, when men had drunk, the earl and most men with him went to sleep. But Sweyn breastrope went out, and sat out all night, in heathen rites, as was his wont. And during the night

The homestead at Orfir, with its drinking hall.

The church at Orfir.

Earl Paul gives Sweyn Asleif's son a seat of honour.

Sweyn breastrope's heathen practices.

[1] The Danish Translation reads, "A great slab or flat stone; between it and the hall (stoffven) were many and great ale-casks; but just opposite the door as one went in was another little room."

A.D. 1136. men rose and went to church and heard prayers, and after high mass men sat down at the board. Eyvind Melbrigdi's son had most of the management of the feast with the earl, and did not sit down himself. The waiting-men and torch-bearers stood before the earl's table, but Eyvind poured out the drink into the cup of each of those namesakes. Then Sweyn breastrope thought that Eyvind filled his cup higher, and would not touch it before Sweyn Asleif's son had drunk off his cup, and said Sweyn [Asleif's son] drank unfairly. There had long been no love lost between Sweyn breastrope and Olaf Hrolf's son, and so too between those namesakes since Swein Asleif's son grew up to be a man. And when drinking had gone on a while, then they went to Nones. But when men came in again, then healths and memories were solemnly spoken of, and horns were drained. Then Sweyn breastrope would change horns with his namesake, and said he thought it was a little one. Then Eyvind thrust a great horn into Sweyn Asleif's son's hand, and he offered that to his namesake. Then Sweyn breastrope got wrath, and said to himself between his lips, so that some men, and the earl among the rest, heard him: "Sweyn will be Sweyn's death, "and Sweyn shall be Sweyn's death." This was hushed up at once, and now the drinking went on up to even-song. And when the earl went out, then Sweyn Asleif's son went before him, but Sweyn breastrope sat behind and drank. But when they came out into the ale-room, Eyvind came after them, and led Sweyn aside to talk. "Heardest thou," he asked, "what thy namesake said when thou hadst "offered him the horn?" "No," he said. Then Eyvind repeated the words, and said that the fiend must have put those words into his mouth during the night. "He must mean thee death, but thou shalt be before-"hand with him in the deed, and slay him." Eyvind put an axe into his hand, and bade him stand by the flat stone in the shade, and told him to give Sweyn

The two Sweyns quarrel over their drink.

Eyvind the cup-bearer incites Sweyn Asleif's son to slay his namestake, and tells him how to do it.

the blow in front if John went before him, but if John went behind, then he bade Sweyn to deal his namesake the blow behind. The earl went to church, and no one gave heed to Eyvind and Sweyn. But Sweyn breastrope and John went out a little later than the earl. Sweyn breastrope had a sword in his hand, for he always bore his sword, though others were weaponless, and John went first. It was light up to the doorway, but the weather was thick. And when Sweyn breastrope came to the doorway, Sweyn Asleif's son smote him in front on the forehead, and he stumbled forward at the blow, but did not fall. And when he stood straight again, then he saw a man standing at the door, and thought it must be he that had wounded him. Then he drew his sword, and dealt him a blow with it on the head, and clave him down to the shoulders; but it was his kinsman John on whom the blow fell, and there they both fell down. Then Eyvind came up and led Sweyn Asleif's son into that room which was over against the doorway, and he was there drawn out at a window-slit.[1] There Magnus Eyvind's son has a horse ready saddled, and guided him away at the back of the homestead, and so to Orrida-firth. Then they took ship, and Magnus carried Sweyn to Damsay, and brought him to the castle; but Blann carried him next morning north to Egil's isle to meet bishop William. The bishop was then at prayers when they came thither. And after mass Sweyn was brought by stealth to the bishop, and Sweyn tells him the tidings, the death of his father Olaf and of Waltheof, and the slaying of Sweyn and John, and called on the bishop to shelter him. The bishop thanked him for the slaying of Sweyn breastrope, and said that had been a cleansing of the land. The bishop let Sweyn stay there till Yule was over;

A.D. 1136.

Sweyn Asleif's son mortally wounds Sweyn breastrope, and Sweyn breastrope slays his kinsman John.

Eyvind the cup-bearer aids Sweyn Asleif's son to escape, and sends him to Damsay.

Sweyn goes to bishop William to Egil's isle.

The bishop shelters

[1] Literally "bladder-window," a narrow window covered with bladder to supply the place of glass. Comp. Sturl. S. i. 168. The Run. Lex s.v. ljóri reads, "he was drawn up "through the louvre."

A.D. 1136. him, and sends him to the Southern isles.

but after that he sent him into the Southern isles to Tyree, to that man whose name was Holdbodi, and who was Hundi's son; he was a great chief there, and gave Sweyn a very hearty welcome. He stayed there that winter, and was thought of much worth by all the people.

1137. Earl Paul's behaviour when he heard those slayings.

71. A little while after those manslayings had taken place in Orfir men ran up from the church, and Sweyn was borne inside the house, for he had not yet drawn his last breath, though he had lost his senses. He died in the course of the night. Then the earl made every man take his seat, and wanted to be sure who it was that had caused the slayings; and then Sweyn Asleif's son was missing. Then men thought it clear that Sweyn had slain them. Then Eyvind came up and said: "Any man can see that Sweyn breastrope "must have given John his death." The earl said that no man should blow a hair off Sweyn's[1] head, and says he would not have done this without a cause. "But if he takes himself off from meeting me," says he, "then he will be doing himself an ill turn by that."[2] Men thought it most likely that Sweyn would have gone to Paplay to Hacon churl, brother of earl Magnus the saint; he was a great chief, mild and gentle. The earl heard no news of Sweyn that winter, and made them make him an outlaw. When the spring began the earl fared far and near about the north isles to get in his rents. He made great friends with the great men, and gave away almost with both hands. The earl came into Stronsay, and gave Thorkell flayer that farm which Waltheof Olaf's son had owned, for the sake of knowing where Sweyn had settled down. Thorkell spoke and said: "It does not turn out now "as the saying goes, 'Many are a king's ears.' But "though thou beest earl, still it seems to me wonder-

He excuses Sweyn Asleif's son, but blames him for flying.

The earl makes Sweyn an outlaw when he fails to appear.

The earl's progress through the isles in the spring of 1137.

His liberality.

[1] *Sweyn's*] *i.e.* Sweyn Asleif's son's.

[2] The Danish Translation reads: "Then he must have something on "his conscience, and knows that he "is guilty; else I will not believe "that he has done this without "cause."

" ful that though hast heard no tidings of Sweyn, for A.D. 1137.
" I knew at once that bishop William sent him to Thorkell flayer tells him where Sweyn is.
" the Southern isles to Holdbodi Hundi's son, and
" there he has been this winter." The earl said:
" What shall I do to the bishop who has dared to
" do this?" Thorkell answers: "No blame must be
" given to the bishop for this in the face of what now
" lies at the door; thou wilt need all thy friends if
" Rognvald and his men come from the east." The earl says, "that what he says is true." Earl Paul fared thence to Rinansey (North Ronaldsay), and accepted a feast at mistress Ragna's house and Thorstein's her son. Ragna was a wise woman. They had another farm in Papay.[1] The earl sat there three nights, for he could not get a wind to Kugi's house in Westray. They, Ragna and the earl, talked much, and she says to the Ragna of Rinansey talks with earl Paul.
earl that he had little loss in Sweyn breastrope, even
though he were a great warrior. "Thou gottest from
" him many feuds; it were my counsel, in the face of
" that trouble which stares you in the face, that ye
" make you as many friends as you can, and not be Ragna advises him to make as many friends as he can, and to pardon Sweyn.
" fault-finding. I would too that ye laid no blame on
" bishop William or the other kinsmen of Sweyn
' Asleif's son; but I would rather that thou wouldest
" forgive the bishop thy wrath, and this besides, that
" thou wouldest let word be sent to the Southern
" isles for Sweyn, and forgive him thy wrath too, and
" give him back his estates on condition that he will be
" to thee such a man as his father was. It has always
" been the custom of the noblest men to do much for
" the sake of their friends, and so to gather to them-
" selves force and friendship." The earl answers: Earl Paul answers angrily.
" Thou art a wise wife, Ragna, but still thou has
" not yet gotten the title of earl in the Orkneys;
" thou shalt not rule the land here. A pretty thing
" indeed that I should give Sweyn goods for an atone-
" ment, and think that I should win victory for my
" side in that way!" He gets wrath about this, and

[1] *Papay*] Probably in Papay Westray.

A.D. 1137. His speech.

said: "God settle matters between my kinsman earl "Rognvald and me, and let things so go as each has "deserved by his deeds. If I have misdone towards "him, then it is time that I should atone for it; but if "so be his aim is to get my realm, then methinks that "man my best friend who aids me, that I may be able "to hold my realm. Rognvald I have never yet seen; "and this is why, so far as my knowledge goes, "I have all the less done him any wrong, because "whatever our kinsfolk may have caused to be done, "men know well enough that I had no share in those "things." Many answered that it was quite unpardonable for any one to try and strive with him for the realm, but no one spoke against him. When the spring began to wear away, earl Paul made them pile up the beacons in the Fair Isle and Rinansey, and in almost all the isles, so that each might be seen from the other. There was a man named Dagfinn Hlodver's son, who kept house on the Fair Isle, a brisk stirring man; he was to watch that beacon and set fire to it if a host were seen faring from Shetland.

Earl Paul sees to the beacons that spring.

Earl Rognvald makes ready during the winter for his voyage west.

Kol's counsel.

Earl Rognvald sat that winter at home in Agdir on the farms of that father and son, and sent word to his friends and kinsfolk; but some he went to see, and begged that they would aid him in his voyage west both in men and ships, and most of them turned a willing ear to his wants. But about February Kol sent two ships of burden out of the land, one west to England to buy stores and weapons, but in the other Solmund sailed south to Denmark to buy there what Kol bade him, for he has now all the business of fitting them out in his hands. It was so meant that these ships of burden should come back to Norway at Easter, but they mean to set sail on the voyage after Easter week. So it was done, and they held on from the east after Easter week. Each of that pair, father and son, had his own long-ship, but Solmund had the third. Kol and his son had besides a ship of burden laden with stores. But when they came to Bergen,

they found king Harold there; he gave Rognvald a long-ship fully trimmed and manned. John limp-leg had also a long-ship. The sixth Aslak, son of Erlend of Hern had; he was a daughter's son of Steigar-Thorir. He too had a ship of burden laden with stores. They had six large ships, five cutters, and three ships of burden. When they lay waiting for a wind at Hern, a ship ran in from the west, and they heard news from the Orkneys and Shetland, and what preparations earl Paul was taking, if earl Rognvald came thither west with a host that summer. A.D. 1137. They collect their fleet at Hern.

72. Earl Rognvald let them blow the trumpets to call together a house-Thing[1] while they lay in Hern,[2] and spoke then of earl Paul's preparations, and how great feud the Orkneyingers showed towards him when they meant to keep him from the inheritance of his kinsfolk, after the kings of Norway had given it to him as the rightful heir. And so he makes them a long and clever speech,—I meant, he said, "so to go " to the Orkneys as either to get them or else die." Men gave him great praise for his speech, and promised him trustier following. Then Kol stood up and said: "We have heard from the Orkneys how all " men there will rise up against you, and keep you " from your realm, siding with earl Paul; and be " sure, kinsman, that they will be slow to lay down " that feud which they have taken up against you. " Now, it is my counsel to look for trust thither " where there is enough of it and to spare, that he " may give you your realm who owns it by right; " but that is the saint earl Magnus, your mother's " brother. My wish is that though vowest to him, if " he will grant thee the inheritance of thy kindred " and make thee his heir, that thou wilt let a stone " minster be built in the Orkneys at Kirkwall if " thou canst get that realm, so that there shall not

Earl Rognvald holds a house-Thing at Hern.

Earl Rognvald's speech.

Kol speaks too, and counsels them to vow to build a church at Kirkwall to saint Magnus if they succeed.

[1] The original of our "husting" or "hustings."

[2] A group of islands near Bergen off the coast of Hördeland.

A.D. 1137. " be another as splendid in that land, and let it be " hallowed in the name of Saint Magnus the earl thy " kinsman, and that thou wilt lay out money, so " that that church may grow and thrive, and that " thither may come his halidom, together with the " bishop's seat." This all thought good advice. And that vow was fast made. After that they put to sea, and they got a fair wind, and made Shetland, and each were glad at meeting the others. The Shetlanders were able to tell them many tidings from the Orkneys, and so they stayed there some time.

They make the vow, set sail, and make Shetland.

73. It chanced once that Kol asks Uni, for he was then there, and had changed his abode to that of Kol and his son, after he had taken part in the plot against Brynjulf. Then Kol asks: "Whether of the " twain wilt thou, Uni, give counsel how the beacon " in the Fair Isle may be set on fire for naught, or " undertake that work that another beacon may not " be lighted. I speak to thee about this because I " know that thou art wiser than most of the others " who are now here, though we have here many men " of worth." Uni answers: " I am no man for advice, " but still less would I make a rush to war by my " plans. I will therefore rather choose what shall " be done last, because I mean to take the doing of " it all on myself."[1] And a little after, one day when the weather was fair, Kol made them fit out many small ships, and turned his course towards the Orkneys. There were no chiefs on board the ships but Kol. And when they come so far that they think their fleet might be seen from the Fair Isle, then Kol made them hoist the sails on all the ships, and set men to back water with the oars, so that the ships might move as slowly as possible, though the wind was right aft; and he made them set the sails no higher than half-mast, and so hoist them higher

Kol and Uni take counsel about the beacons.

Kol's plan.

[1] The Translation runs thus: " still less would I go thither with " warriors, and therefore I will " come afterwards with my plan, if " I can think anything out by " myself."

and higher up as they had gone further on. Kol says that then their fleet would be seen from the Fair Isle, "[and it would seem] as though the ships were "coming nearer to the isle.[1] May be then that they "will set fire to the beacon, and there will be a rush "to arms all over the islands." Then Dagfinn of the Fair Isle saw the ships sailing and he set fire to the beacon at once, but fared himself to the earl and told him the news. And as soon as ever the beacon was seen on the Fair Isle, then Thorstein Ragna's son made them kindle the beacon on Rinansey. And after that all the others were lit one after the other over all the isles. But all the freemen fared to meet the earl, and that was the greatest war-gathering. But when Kol saw that the beacon was a-blaze, he bade his men fare back; and said it might so happen that this would be a cause of quarrel to some of them; Kol fares back to Shetland after he had done thus much, and says that now Uni shall betake himself to his plans. Uni calls three Shetlanders to go along with him; they take a six-oared boat and a few stores beside and fishing-tackle. They fared to the Fair Isle, and Uni said he was a Norseman, but gives out that he had wedded in Shetland and had sons there; he says too he had been robbed by earl Rognvald's men, and speaks the hardest things of them. He takes up his abode in a house there, and his sons row out to fish; but he stays at home to watch their stores and catch. He gets to speaking with and to knowing those men who take the lead there, and they are well pleased with him.

A.D. 1137.

The beacons are lighted.

Kol returns to Shetland.

Uni's plan.

Uni sails for the Fair Isle.

74. After that Dagfinn had set fire to the beacon, he set off to find earl Paul, as was before said, and thither came all the earl's chieftains. Then they took to asking every one about the doings of earl Rognvald

The Orkneyingers meet after the firing of the

[1] In the Translation the stratagem of Kol is thus described. "As if "the ships were coming ever nearer "and nearer as they hoisted the "sails, though they scarcely moved "on at all."

A.D. 1137. beacons, but no foe appears. and his men; and men thought it wonderful when they showed themselves nowhere. But still they kept the force together three days. Then the freemen began to take it ill, and say that it was great folly to burn the beacons, though fishermen were seen sailing in their boats. Then blame was laid on Thorstein Ragna's son that he had done a bad thing when he kindled the beacon on Rinansey. Thorstein answers, and says he could do nothing else than fire the beacon, when he saw the blaze on the Fair Isle, and said this had been all Dagfinn's doing. Dagfinn answers: "Men far more "often get ill from thee than though art able to say "the same of me." Thorstein bade him hold his tongue, and sprang up to him with an axe, and smote him there and then his death-blow. Then men sprang to arms and a battle arose. This was in Hrossey, a little way from Kirkwall. Sigurd of Westness and his sons Hacon pike and Brynjulf aided Hlodver Dagfinn's father, but his own kin helped Thorstein. Then this was told the earl, and he came up, but it was long ere he could get them parted. Then Kugi of Westray speaks a long speech, and said thus: "Do "not do the earl this shame, that ye fall to blows "among yourselves, for ye will need all your men "within a little time. Let us take heed then that "we be not unhandy or quarrelsome. But as for "this, it must have come about by the will and plan "of our foes, and it must have been a trick of theirs "to waste the beacons thus. But now they may be "looked for to come every day, and so let us take "counsel and make our plans. No ill-will could "have driven Dagfinn to do as he did, but he was a "little more hasty than he ought to have been." This guess of Kugi was the very truth, and so he went on with many wise words. So it came about that each side was willing that the earl should settle the matter; but still it was thought best to break up the gathering, and men went home. But that man was set to watch the beacon in the Fair Isle whose

They quarrel among themselves, and Thorstein Ragna's son slays Dagfinn.

A general battle. Earl Paul parts them.

Kugi of Westray's wise speech.

The gathering breaks up.

name was Eric. And when Uni had been a little while in the Fair Isle, he came to Eric and said: "Wilt thou that I watch the beacon? since I do "naught else, and I may well sit and spend all my "time on it." Eric accepted that. But as soon as ever no men were near to the spot, Uni threw water on the beacon, and made it so wet that fire had no hold of it anywhere. A.D. 1137. Uni spoils the beacon on the Fair Isle.

75. Earl Rognvald and his men agreed that they would wait until the spring tides and east wind set in together, for then it is scarcely possible to pass between Westray and Hrossey, but with an east wind one may sail from Shetland to Westray. And so earl Rognvald and his men profited by this, and came on Friday evening to Westray into Hofn, to the house of Helgi, who lived there. No signs were then given by the beacons, for when the sails were seen from the Fair Isle, Eric busked him to go to earl, and sent men to Uni to bid him fire the beacon, but when that man came thither, Uni was off and away. And when that man wanted to fire the beacon, then it was so wet that the fire would not catch it. And when Eric hears this, he thinks he sees how things have gone. After that he fares to find earl Paul, and tells him. But when earl Rognvald was come into Westray, all the island blades gathered together, and they, Kugi and Helgi, take counsel for them. The first thing was to seek for peace from the earl. And the end of this business was that the Westrayingers come under earl Rognvald's power, and swear oaths to him. Earl Rognvald sails for Westray. No beacons are lighted. Earl Rognvald lands in Westray. The islanders swear fealty to him.

76. On the Sunday after earl Rognvald heard mass there in the thorpe, and they were standing outside by the church. Then they saw how sixteen men walked without weapons and bald. Them they thought wonderously boun. The earl's men talked together, and asked who these men might be. Then the earl sang a song: Earl Rognvald and

"Sixteen have I seen at once,— Earl Rognvald's song.
"Topknots fell about their brows,

A.D. 1137.

"Shield or weapon bore they none,—
"Women all together walk;
"We bore witness now to this,
"That here west are far the most
"Shaveling maidens in this isle,
"In the main it lies in tempests."

Earl Rognvald's lays the whole island under him, and crushes a plot against him.

When the Sunday was over earl Rognvald's men fared there about the country round, and all men came under the earl's power. It fell out one night in Westray that the earl's men had news that the islanders were to have a secret meeting to plot against earl Rognvald. But when the earl got news of that, then he arose and went to the meeting. But it happened that the earl's men had beaten many of the island blades, and taken master Kugi and put him in fetters, and said he was at the bottom of this plot. But when earl Rognvald came to the meeting Kugi fell at his feet and laid all his cause in God's hand and the earl's; he said he had been brought to the meeting against his will, for all the freemen wished him to be foreman in the plot. Kugi pleaded his own cause well and glibly, and many others pleaded with him, and tried to prove what he said to be true. Then the earl chanted this:

His song on Kugi.

"Crooked fetters I see lying
"On the legs of greybeard Kugi,
"Kugi, worst of midnight plotters,
"Fetters now forbid thy straying!
"Kugi! never hold again
"Midnight tryst nor bargain break,
"Thou shalt be shut out from guile,
"Take an oath and keep it too."

The earl gave all the men there peace. Then they bound their fellowship anew [with oaths].

The behaviour of the two earls.

77. When earl Rognvald had come into the Orkneys and many men had come under his power, Paul was in Hrossey, and he and his friends held a Thing and

took counsel with their men. The earl asked for advice as to how he should behave in this strait. But men handled it in various ways, and it was the counsel of some that the lands should be shared with earl Rognvald; but most of the mighty men, and the freemen too, wished to buy earl Rognvald off with money, and offered there and then help to do it. Some were eager to have a fight for it, and said that had turned out well before. Earl Rognvald had had spies at the meeting, and when they come to him, the earl asked the news. A skald who had been at the Thing answered the earl:[1] A.D. 1137. Earl Paul holds a Thing, at which earl Rognvald has spies.

"Mighty chief! I hear that our
"Foemen hide a hostile mind,
"From the freemen at the meeting
"This report I also heard,
"That the feeders of the wolf,
"Many masters too of ships,
"Wished thy ships to keep the sea,
"But for Paul to hold the land."

The skald's answer to earl Rognvald.

After that earl Rognvald sent men to find the bishop and begged him to become a daysman[2] between them, and (he) sent for Thorstein Ragna's son, and Thorstein Havard's son out of Sanday, and bade them go with him and try to make a settlement and to stand by neither side in making any strife; and when they came to the bishop they fared altogether to find earl Paul, and he (the bishop) tried to make a settlement between those kinsmen. The bishop brought this about, that peace was fixed for half a month, that they might try to make a more lasting settlement. Then the isles were shared into lots, where either earl should have his living during that time. Then earl Rognvald fared to Hrossey, but earl Paul fared to Rowsay. And in that time these tidings happened in the isles, Earl Rognvald begs the bishop to mediate. Half a month's truce, during which time the isles are divided between the earls.

[1] Fl. reads, "the earl asked the "news of a skald who had been "there."

[2] *daysman*] "Neither is there any "daysman betwixt us."—Job ix.33.

A.D. 1137. that those kinsmen of Swein Asleif's son, John wing of the Upland in Hoy, and Richard of the Brink in Stronsay, fared against Thorkell flayer to that farm which Waltheof had owned, and burned him inside it, and nine men with him. They fared after that to find earl Rognvald, and gave him that choice, that they would join earl Paul with all their kin if earl Rognvald would not take to them. The earl did not turn them away from him. And when Haflidi Thorkell's son heard that, he fared at once to find earl Paul, as soon as he heard of his father's burning, and earl Paul took to him. After that John and his kinsfolk bound themselves as earl Rognvald's liegemen. He soon had a great following there in the isles, and was much beloved. Earl Rognvald gave John and Solmund and Aslak and many other of his helpers leave to go home; but they wished to stay and see how things would turn out. Then earl Rognvald said: "My "thought is, if God wills that I should get rule in the "Orkneys, that he will give me strength, and so will "the saint earl Magnus, my kinsman, to hold it, even "though ye fare home to your estates." After that they fared home to Norway, each of them to his own abode.

Thorkell flayer burnt by Sweyn Asleif's son's kinsmen. Sweyn offers his aid to earl Rognvald.

Earl Rognvald sends his Norse levies home.

78. That spring early Sweyn Asleif's son had fared away from the Southern isles up into Scotland to see his friends. He stayed a long time in Athole with earl Moddad and Margaret Hacon's daughter, and they talked about many things in secret. There Sweyn heard of strife from the Orkneys, and he grew eager to fare thither and find his kinsfolk. He fared first to Caithness to Thurso, and a noble man with him whose name was Ljotolf; with him Sweyn had been long that spring. They came to earl Ottar's house in Thurso, Frakok's brother, and Ljotolf tried to bring about a settlement between Ottar and Sweyn for what Frakok had caused to be done, and earl Ottar paid down the fines for the atonement on his own behalf. The earl also gave his word that he would be

Sweyn Asleif's son's visit to earl Moddad and Margaret.

Sweyn returns to Thurso, and makes friends with earl Ottar.

friends with Sweyn, but Sweyn promised earl Ottar to strengthen Erlend the son of Harold smooth-tongue, so that he might get back his father's inheritance in the Orkneys when he laid claim to it. Sweyn there changed ships, and had a ship of burden thence, and thirty men on board her. Thence he took a north-west wind across the Pentland firth, and so west of Hrossey, and so to Evie sound, and so up the sound to Rowsay. At the isle's end was a high headland, and a great heap of stones under it beneath; and there otters often lay among the rocks. And as Sweyn and his men were rowing along the sound, he began to speak, and said: "There are men yonder on the headland, and we "will run in thither and learn the news of them. My "will now is that men should change their trim a little; "we will take to our hammocks; and there twenty "men shall lie down, but ten shall row;[1] we will go "softly and slowly." But when they neared the isle, men call out from the head that they must row to Westness, and bring to earl Paul what they had on board ship. They thought they were speaking to chapmen. But earl Paul had been that night at Westness to a feast in Sigurd's house. The earl had risen up betimes, and he and nineteen men had gone south on the isle to hunt otters which lay among the rocks under the head. They meant to be back home in time for their morning draught. The men on board the ship of burden rowed to land, and they asked one another of this thing and that, and what the men were called whom they had met. The men in the ship of burden told whence they had come; they ask also where the earl might be. They tell them that he was there on the rocks. Sweyn and his men heard that as they lay in their hammocks; and Sweyn then told them to run the ship in so that she might not be seen from the head. Then Sweyn said that they must arm themselves, and fall at once on the earl's men when

A.D. 1137.

Sweyn sets sail from Thurso.

He steers for Rowsay, and learns where earl Paul is.

Sweyn's stratagem.

Sweyn falls on earl Paul as he is otter-hunting, and slays all his men.

[1] The Danish Translation adds, "and we will take in our sail."

A.D. 1137. they met. And so they do. There they slew nineteen men, but six of Sweyn's men fell. They took earl Paul by force, and led him on board their ship, and turned their stem to the sea, and fared back the same way west of Hrossey, and ran in between Hoy and Grimsey, and so east of Swelg,[1] thence south to Broad firth, and up it to Ekkjalsbakka.[2] There he left his ship and twenty men, but he and the rest fared till he came to Athole and met earl Maddad and Margaret earl Paul's sister. There they had a hearty welcome, and earl Maddad set earl Paul in his own high-seat. And when they had sat down, in came Margaret walking with a great train of women, and threw her arms round her brother. After that men were brought in to amuse them. Earl Paul was rather short of words, as was not wonderful that he should have great misgivings. Nothing has been handed down of earl Paul's words, or of Sweyn's as they were faring both together. Earl Maddad and Margaret and Sweyn Asleif's son went into a room and talked together. But at even after drink Sweyn and his captive were shown the way to a sleeping-house all alone, and they were locked in there, and so it went on every evening while they were there.

Sweyn takes earl Paul captive, and carries him off to Athole, to earl Maddad and Margaret.

79. It happened one day that Margaret gave out that Sweyn Asleif's son was going to the Orkneys to see earl Rognvald, and give him his choice whether he would rather have earl Paul to rule with him in the Orkneys, or Harold, son of Maddad and herself, who was three winters old. And when earl Paul heard of that, he answers: "As to my mind, it is to "be said that I fared away so from my realm that "men will never have heard of such doings before: "nor will I ever go back to the Orkneys. I see that "this vengeance must be given of God for the robbery

Margaret proposes that Rognvald shall choose between her son Harold and earl Paul.

Earl Paul's speech.

[1] *Swelg*] The "Swelchie," a well-known eddy or whirlpool off the Caithness coast.

[2] *Ekkjalsbakka*] No doubt Strath Oikel.

" of me and my kinsmen; but if it seems to God that A.D. 1137.
" the realm is mine, then will I give it to Harold, if
" he may live to enjoy it; but as for me, I wish that
" money may be given me to settle me in some cloister,
" and then keep ye watch and ward, so that I do
" not get away thence. But my wish is, Sweyn, that
" thou farest to the Orkneys, and sayest that I am
" blinded, or even more maimed, for my friends will
" seek me out if I am sound and hale in all my
" limbs. It may then be that I may not be able to
" forego faring back to my realm with them, for I
" guess they will think there is more harm in our
" parting than will really befall them." No more words of the earl are handed down than these. After that Sweyn Asleif's son fared to the Orkneys, but earl Paul stayed behind in Scotland. And this is the story that Sweyn told of what had happened. But some men tell a story which is less seemly, that Margaret had led Sweyn Asleif's son by her counsel to blind earl Paul her brother, and put him into a dark dungeon; but after that she got another man to take his life there. But we do not know which of the two stories is more true; but all men know that he never afterwards came back to the Orkneys, nor held he any rule in Scotland.

Sweyn Asleif's son fares back to the Orkneys to tell his story.

Another story told.

80. These tidings happened at Westness, when the earl's home-coming grew late, then Sigurd, the master of the house, made them send men to look for them; but when they got to where the pile of rocks was, they saw the bodies of the slain. Then they thought the earl must have fallen there; fared home and told these tidings. Sigurd fared at once to the spot to see and reckon the dead, and they found there nineteen of the earl's men, but there were six men besides there whom they knew not. After that Sigurd sent men to Egil's isle to find the bishop and to tell him these tidings. And the bishop fared at once to see Sigurd, and they fell to talk of these tidings, and Sigurd guessed that this must have been by the plotting of

How Sigurd of Westness behaves when earl Paul is missing.

Sigurd sends for bishop William, and accuses earl Rognvald.

A.D. 1137. earl Rognvald. But the bishop answers that some other proof must be brought forward before he would believe that earl Rognvald had betrayed earl Paul his kinsman.

The bishop defends him.

" I guess," says the bishop, " that some others must have " wrought this ill deed." Borgar the son of Jatvor Erlend's daughter, who dwelt at Goathill,[1] he had seen the ship of burden when it fared from the south, and fared back south. But when that was heard, then men

The blame then laid on Oliver and Frakok.

thought that this must have been by the plotting of Frakok and Oliver the unruly. But when these tidings were noised about the isles, that earl Paul was away and gone, and no man knew what was become of him, then they sought counsel among themselves, and there were very many who then fared to find earl Rognvald, and swore fealty to him. But Sigurd of Westness, and his sons Brynjulf and Hacon pike, said they would swear oaths to no man, while they were without news of earl Paul, whether he were to be looked for back or

Earl Rognvald's good policy towards the Orkneyingers.

not. There were more men too who refused to take oaths to earl Rognvald, but there were some who laid down a time or a day when they would come over into his hand if nothing was then heard of earl Paul. But when earl Rognvald saw that he had to do with many mighty men, then he took crossly nothing that the freemen asked. And so time went on, that every now and then he held Things with the freemen, and from time to time some of them came over to his hand at each Thing.

Now it happened one day at Kirkwall, that earl Rognvald had a Thing with the freemen, and when men were at the Thing, it was seen how nine armed

Sweyn Asleif's son appears at a Thing, and tells his story to the bishop.

men came from Scapa-neck to the Thing. And when they came to the Thing, there they knew Sweyn Asleif's son, and men were eager to know what tidings he had to tell. Sweyn had sailed in his ship from the south to Scapa-neck, and there left his ship, but

[1] In chapter 59 they are said to have lived at Knarstead.

he and his men walked to Kirkwall afterwards. And A.D. 1137.
so when they came on the place of meeting, then his friends and kinsfolk flocked round him, and asked him what news, but he answered little, and bade them call the bishop to him. But the bishop greeted Sweyn well, for they had long been friends. They two went aside to talk, and Sweyn tells the bishop all the truth about his doings, and bade him now take counsel with him about these knotty points. The bishop said: "These are mickle tidings that thou "tellest Sweyn, and it is more than likely that we "two shall not be able to settle this matter by our-"selves; and now my will is that thou bidest for "me here, but I will go and back thy suit before all "the people and earl Rognvald." Then the bishop goes to the meeting, and craves for a hearing, and when he got it, then the bishop pleads Sweyn's cause, and said for what cause he had fared away from the Orkneys, and what penalties earl Paul had laid on him for the slaying of Sweyn breastrope, that worst of men. Then the bishop begged of earl Rognvald for peace on Sweyn's part, and he begs it too of all the people. Then earl Rognvald answers: "I give my "word that Sweyn shall have peace from me for "three nights, but methinks, bishop, thou bearest "that look beneath thy brow, as though ye two, "Sweyn and thou, will be able to tell us of some great "tidings which have not yet come out. My will is "that thou takest Sweyn into thy keeping and be "answerable for him, but I will have a talk with him "on the morrow." "Yes, yes," said the bishop, "will-"ingly will he talk with you, and that as soon as may "be, and he will become thy man if ye will take to "him." The earl answers: "Methinks there are not "over many friends of mine in this land, but still we "must talk more together ere I agree to that." After that those four went aside to talk, earl Rognvald, Kol his father, the bishop, and Sweyn Asleif's son;

The bishop's answer.

The bishop pleads Sweyn's cause.

Earl Rognvald grants him peace for three nights.

Sweyn tells his story to earl Rognvald and Kol.

A.D. 1137. then Sweyn tells them the lieve and the loath[1] of all that had passed between him and earl Paul; but they took that counsel to let most of the crowd of men fare away from the Thing. The earl stands up the morning after, and gave the men then leave to go home. But when the crowd of men broke up from the Thing, then he fetched this man and that man by himself to come and talk with them, and made all men first promise Sweyn peace who were by before he told the tidings. But the morning after Hacon churl, brother of earl Magnus the saint, was got to go and tell Sigurd of Westness and his sons of what had befallen the earl, and this too that he was not to be looked for to take up his rule, and that he was maimed. Sigurd says: "This methinks is "great tidings about the earl's going away, but that "methinks is heaviest of all that he is maimed, for "there is no place whither he could have gone that "I would not fare to find him out if he were hale." And so he has said to his friends afterwards, that Hacon should not have gone away unmaimed if he had had force enough when he [Hacon] told him this story, he took it so much to heart.

The earl tells it to the great men, and gets peace for Sweyn.

Hacon churl tells Sigurd of Westness.

Sigurd's sorrow.

But after these tidings, all men in the Orkneys went over into earl Rognvald's hands, and now he became sole chief over that realm which earl Paul had owned. And not long after the ground plan was marked out for Magnus' church, and builders were gathered for it; and the work went on so fast in three years, that less was done in four or five thenceforth. Kol was the man who looked most after the workmanship of the building, and had most of the guidance as to the plan. But as the building went on, it grew costly to the earl, and his money was far spent. Then the earl sought for counsel to his father. But Kol gave him that advice that the earl should bring in a law to the effect that

All the Orkneyingers come over to earl Rognvald when they hear that earl Paul will not come back.

The church to earl Magnus built at Kirkwall.

[1] *the lieve and the loath*] that is he made a clean breast of it; he told them everything, whether it were pleasing or displeasing to them.

the earls had taken all freehold lands in inheritance after men, but that the heirs had to redeem them for their own, and that was thought rather hard. Then earl Rognvald made them call together a Thing, and offered the freemen the choice of buying their freeholds out and out, so that there was no need to redeem them. And that they agreed on among themselves, so that all were well pleased. But a mark was to be paid to the earl for every plough-land over all the isles. But thenceforth money was not lacking for the church-building, and that building is wrought with much toil and pains. A.D. 1137. How the money is found for it.

81. When earl Rognvald had ruled two winters over the Orkneys, then he kept the Yule feast at one of his farms which is called Knarstead. It was the sixth Yule day, that a ship was seen faring from the south from the Pentland firth. The weather was good, and the earl stood out of doors, and many men by him, and looked and thought what that ship might be. That man was there whose name was Hrolf, and he was the earl's body-priest. And when these men came to land, then they went up from their ship, and the earl's men kept count of them and reckoned that they might be fifteen or sixteen men. But at the head of the band walked a man in a blue cape, and he had tucked his hair under the hood; he had shaven the beard from his chin in front, but his jaws and cheeks were unshaven, and there (the hair) hung down full and long. This man seemed rather strange to them (the earl's men), but Hrolf the priest knew that man, and says that that was bishop John who had come down from Scotland out of Athole. Then the earl went to meet them, and gives the bishop a hearty welcome. The earl seated the bishop on his own high-seat, but waits himself at the board before him like a page. Next morning the bishop held mass early, and then he fared north to Egil's isle to see bishop William, and was there till the tenth Yule day. Then both the bishops fared to see earl Rognvald with a worthy Bishop John of Athole comes to the Orkneys at Yule, 1139. His strange appearance. Earl Rognvald welcomes and waits upon him. Bishop John passes on to Bishop William. The two bishops come to

A.D. 1139. following, and brought out their errand. They tell him of that agreement between Sweyn's Asleif's son and earl Maddad, that their son Harold should fare out into the Orkneys to be fostered by earl Rognvald, with this understanding that Harold should bear the title of earl, and have half the Orkneys with earl Rognvald, but they should both have one court, and that earl Rognvald should rule for both of them, and do so though Harold grew to be a man; and if each had a will of his own, then earl Rognvald was to have his way. Sweyn was there too, and brought this matter forward along with the bishop. So earl Rognvald and his friends took this counsel, that a meeting was fixed for the spring at Lent in Caithness, and then an agreement was made on those terms, and was bound by the oaths of the best men of the Orkneys and of Scotland. Then Harold Maddad's son fared out into the Orkneys with earl Rognvald, and there and then the title of earl was given him. Then Thorbjorn clerk fared unto the isles with earl Harold; he was a son of Thorstein the freeman and Gudrun Frakok's daughter; he was a wise man and of great weight; he then fostered earl Harold and had great power over him. Thorbjorn took to himself a wife in the Orkneys, and got Ingirid[1] Olaf's daughter, Sweyn Asleif son's sister. Thorbjorn was then by turns either out there in the Orkneys or up in Scotland, and he was the boldest of men, and the most unfair overbearing man in most things. Sweyn Asleif's son took under him all those estates which his father Olaf and his brother Waltheof had owned; he then became a mighty chief, and always had a great company of men with him. He was a wise man and foresighted[2] about many things; an unfair overbearing man, and

earl Rognvald and tell him of Margaret's proposal about her son Harold.

Earl Rognvald accepts it, and Harold comes to the Orkneys.

[1] Thus in the text and in the Danish Translation. In ch. 59. she is called Ingigerd, cf. ch. 86, below.

[2] *foresighted*] This word implies that he had a supernatural foreknowledge of many things which were about to happen. We have the remnant of this old belief in the Scottish "second sight."

reckless towards others. There were not at that time those two men west across the sea, who were not of greater birth, who were thought of more power and weight than those brothers-in-law Sweyn and Thorbjorn. There was then between them great love. A.D. 1139. Thorbjorn clerk and Sweyn Asleif's son brothers-in-law.

82. It fell out once that Sweyn Asleif's son came to talk with earl Rognvald, and asked that he would give him strength of men and ships to avenge on Oliver and Frakok the burning of his father Olaf. The earl spoke and said: "Do not think, Sweyn, that either "of us need now look for harm at the hands of either "Oliver or Frakok, a carline, who is fit for nothing." Sweyn answers: "There will always be harm at their "hands so long as they live; and I must say I then "looked for other things when I did my utmost for thy "sake, than that thou shouldest not grant me such things "[as I now ask]." The earl answers: "What help then "shall I give thee which will please thee?" Sweyn answers: "Two ships well fitted and manned." The earl said it should be as he asked. And after that Sweyn busked him for that voyage, and when he was "boun" he sailed south to Broadfirth, and took the north-west wind to Dufeyra.[1] That is a market-town in Scotland. But thence he sailed into the land along the shore of Murray and to Ekkjalsbakka. Thence he fared next of all to Athole to earl Maddad and lay at the place called Elgin. Then he [the earl] gave Sweyn guides, who knew the paths over fells and wastes, whither he wished to go. Thence he fared the upper way over fells and wood, above all places where men dwelt, and came out in Helmsdale, near the middle of Sutherland. But Oliver and his men had spies out everywhere where they thought that strife was to be looked for from the Orkneys, but on this way they did not at all look for warriors. So they were not ware of the host before Sweyn and his men had come to a slope at the back of Frakok's homestead. There came

1139–48. Sweyn Asleif's son sets out to take vengeance on Frakok and Oliver.

He first goes to Athole, and thence across the highlands down upon Sutherland.

Sweyn takes Oliver unawares.

[1] Deveron. (?)

A.D. 1139–48. They fight, and Oliver flies.

against them Oliver the unruly with sixty men; then they fell to battle at once, and there was a short struggle. Oliver and his men gave way towards the homestead, for they could not get to the wood. Then there was a great slaughter of men, but Oliver he fled away up to Helmsdale water, and swam across the river and so up on to the fell, and thence he fared to Scotland's firth, and so out to the Southern isles. And he is out of the story. But when Oliver drew off, Sweyn and his men fared straight up to the house and plundered it of everything, but after that they burnt the homestead, and all those men and women who were inside it. And there Frakok lost her life. Sweyn and his men did there the greatest harm in Sutherland ere they fared to their ships. After that they lay out that summer, and harried round Scotland.

Frakok is burnt.

Sweyn returns to the Orkneys.

Sweyn came home at autumn to the Orkneys to see earl Rognvald; and he gave Sweyn a hearty welcome; then Sweyn fared across to the Ness to Duncansby, and sat there that winter. At that time came a message by word of mouth to Sweyn from Holdbodi out of the Southern isles, that Sweyn should come to help him, for thither to Tyree had come a Freeman from Wales, and had chased Holdbodi out of house and home, and had robbed him of much goods. That man was called Robert who was sent, English by kin. Sweyn bestirred himself at once when the message was sent to him, and came out into the Orkneys to meet earl Rognvald, and begged earl Rognvald that he would give him force and ships. The earl asked what Sweyn wanted to take in hand. He said that man had sent him word, to whom of all others he ought to be the last to say "nay," and who had stood him then in best stead, when he had most need when almost every one turned against him. The earl answers: "It were well then if ye two parted friends, "but most South-islanders are untrue; but thou wilt "be able to show thy manliness, and I will give thee "two ships thoroughly manned." This pleases Sweyn

Holdbodi sends a message to ask help of Sweyn.

Earl Rognvald gives Sweyn a force.

well, and they fared then to the Southern isles, and he did not find Holdbodi before he got as far west as Man, for he [Holdbodi] had fled away thither. But when Sweyn came to Man, then Holdbodi was fain to see him. And there in Man that Freeman from Wales had done great harm in plunderings and man-slayings, and so wide about in the Southern-isles. Before him had fallen a man of birth and worth, whose name was Andrew; he left behind him a wife whose name was Ingirid, and a son whose name was Sigmund angle. Ingirid the housewife had much goods and a great homestead. Holdbodi gave Sweyn that advice to ask for her hand, but when that question was put to her, then she said that Sweyn must do that deed for his match, to avenge her husband Andrew. Sweyn answers that he might do the Welshmen some harm, "but I cannot tell how it will be "fated as to loss of life." And after that those two, Sweyn and Holdbodi, went on warfare and had five ships. They harried round Wales, and went up on land at the place called Earlsness, and did there great mischief. It was one morning that they went up into a certain thorpe, and there was but a little struggle. The householders fled out of the thorpe, but Sweyn and his men plundered it of everything, and burnt six homesteads before their breakfast. There was then with Sweyn a man from Iceland, whose name was Eric, and he sang this stave:

A.D. 1139–48.

Sweyn fares to the Southern isles.

He harries on the coast of Wales.

"Farms are in flames,
"But farmers are robbed;
"So hath Sweyn willed it,
"Six in one morning:
"Wild work enough too
"He wrought there to one man,
"Letting the leaseholder
"Livecoal on lease."

Song on his exploits.

After that they fared to their ship, and lay out that summer and got much war-spoil, but the Freeman ran

Sweyn and Holdbodi

A.D. 1139–48. lay before Lundy.

away to that isle which is called Lund.[1] There was a good stronghold; Sweyn and Holdbodi sat before it for some time, and could do nothing. And they fared home in the autumn to Man.

Holdbodi plays Sweyn false and attacks him.

83. That winter Sweyn made his wedding-feast with Ingirid, and then sat there in great honour. Next spring he gathered men to him, and fared to see Holdbodi, and asked him for force of men, but he begged off, and said the men were many of them at work, but some were on trading voyages, and Sweyn got nothing of what he asked. But there was proof plain that the Freeman and Holdbodi had come to terms by stealth, and bound their bargain by gifts. But Sweyn fared away nevertheless, and had then three ships, and they got little spoil in goods at the beginning of the summer. But as time went on they fared south under Ireland, and took there a bark which the monks of the Scilly Isles owned and plundered it. He harried also far and wide on Ireland, and took there much goods, and they fared home at autumn to Man, and had a great force. Sweyn Asleif's son had sat there at home but a scant time, when he heard this rumour that Holdbodi would not be true to him But Sweyn would not hear of such a thing. And one night about winter those tidings happened, that Sweyn's watchmen came and said that strife was coming upon them. Sweyn and his men ran to their weapons and out of doors. They saw where men were coming with fire to the homestead, and they had a great band. Then Sweyn and his men sprung up on a hillock and defended themselves thence; they had horns and blew them. But that place is thickly peopled, and men flocked to help Sweyn and his band, so that the end of it was, that those who had come against them fell off. Sweyn and his men followed them up and chased them. There many men fell in the flight, but a crowd were wounded on

Sweyn and his men defend themselves and put Holdbodi to flight.

[1] *Lund*] Lundy island in the Bristol Channel.

either side ere they parted. But Holdbodi was the leader of this band, and he had taken himself off in the flight. He fared away till he came to Lundy; the Freeman gave him a hearty welcome, and they held together. Sweyn fared home, and had many men with him and kept good watch and ward, for he put little faith in the South-islanders. When the stores of Sweyn and his men began to fail, the folk quarrelled with him; and he sold his lands when the winter went on for money and goods, and fared early in the spring from the South to the Lewes, and stayed there a long time. He had done much mischief in this voyage.

A.D. 1139–48.

Sweyn returns to the Lewes.

84. When Sweyn was in the Southern isles, earl Rognvald had fared to Caithness, and went to a feast at Wick with that man whose name was Hroald, his wife's name was Arnljot. Sweyn was the name of their son, and he was the briskest of men. But when the earl was at the feast, Thorbjorn clerk and his men came down from Scotland, and told these tidings that Thorstein the freeman his father was slain, and that a Scottish earl had slain him, but that earl's name was Waltheof. But men made that a matter of talk what a deal earl Rognvald and Thorbjorn had to say to one another, for the earl could scarce finish the business he had in hand for their talk. Thorbjorn fared thence out into the isles with the earl, but Sweyn Hroald's son then became the earl's waiting-man. Thorbjorn had then been for a while in Scotland; he had let two men be slain who had been at the burning of Frakok with Sweyn Asleif's son. But when Sweyn came out of the Southern isles, then he fared home to Gairsay to his house, but he did not go to see earl Rognvald as he was wont when he came off warfare. But when the earl heard that he was come home, he asked Thorbjorn if he thought he knew why it was that Sweyn would not come to see him. Thorbjorn answers: "This I guess, that Sweyn

Earl Rognvald in Caithness.

Thorbjorn clerk.

Thorbjorn clerk's feud with Sweyn.

A.D. 1139–48.

"mislikes me, for that I let those men be slain who "were with him at the burning of Frakok." The earl said: "I will not that ye two be at strife." And after that earl Rognvald fared to Gairsay, and tried to bring about an atonement between them, and that was easy, for they both were willing that the earl should settle the matter. After that he made them good friends for that time, and that settlement was kept a long time after.

The earl makes them friends again.

Hall comes to Ragna from Iceland. Earl Rognvald refuses to take him into his service.

85. In that time a vessel from Iceland came to the Orkneys, and that man was on board whose name was Hall, son of Thorarin broad-paunch; he fared to live and lodge in Rinansey with Ragna and her son Thorstein. He was ill at ease there, and begged Thorstein that he would take him to earl Rognvald. They fared to find him, but the earl would not take him into his service; but when they came home, then Ragna asks how they had fared. Then Hall sang a song:

His song.

"I sent thy son an errand, Ragna,
"Man to man speaks words of truth;
"This his weighty calling was
"Place at court for me to ask;
"But the prince, of rings the waster,
"He who rules with glory highest,
"Says he has warriors enough;
"Said 'No' to neighbour of the brawn."

Ragna sets off to see earl Rognvald.

A little after Ragna fared to see earl Rognvald on some errand of her own. She was so "boun" that she had a red cap on her head made of horsehair. And when the earl saw that, he sang:

Earl Rognvald's song.

"Never have I heard that ladies,
"All of them if highly born,
"Wimples wore upon their heads;
"Soft-tongued grows not rings' assassin;[1]

[1] A "kenning" or periphrasis for king or earl.

A.D. 1139–48.

" But now Ragna, gold-lands' fury,[1]
" Binds a mare's tail round her brow;
" She a bride in gay attire
" Goes to meet the wound-goose feeder."[2]

Ragna holds her own, and Hall becomes one of the earl's men.

Ragna said: "Now it comes to that which is often " said that no man is so wise as to see everything " as it is, for this is of a horse and not of a mare." She took then a silken cloth, and threw it over her head as a wimple, and still went on talking of her affairs. The earl was rather slow in listening to her at first, but afterwards softened down his speech as she went on, and she got her business settled as she wished, and leave for Hall to live at the earl's court. And he was there long afterwards with earl Rognvald. They made both of them together the old Key to Verse-making, and let there be five strophes in each metre, but then the song seemed too long, and now two strophes are sung in each metre.

Sweyn Asleif's son's expedition to avenge himself on Holdbodi. Thorbjorn clerk and others go with him.

86. It is said that Sweyn Asleif's son heard how Holdbodi was come into the Southern isles, then he begged Earl Rognvald to give him strength to avenge himself. The earl gave him five ships, and Thorbjorn clerk steered one of them, but Haflidi son of Thorkell flayer the second, Duffnjal son of Havard Gunni's son the third, Richard Thorleif's son the fourth, Sweyn Asleif's son the fifth. But as soon as ever Holdbodi heard of Sweyn, then he fled back south to Lundy; and his fellows took him to them. Sweyn and his companions slew many men in the Southern isles, but plundered and burnt far and wide. They got much goods, but they could not get at Holdbodi, and he never came back to the Southern isles afterwards. Sweyn wanted to be in the Southern isles that winter, but Thorbjorn and the rest wished to go home, and so late in the autumn they fared from the south to

[1] A periphrasis for lady.
[2] A periphrasis for hawk, and "the wound-goose feeder," a periphrasis for chief or earl.

A.D. 1139–48.

Sweyn and Thorbjorn quarrel about the spoil.

Caithness, and came to Duncansby. And when they were to share their war-spoil, then Sweyn said that all should have an even share, save himself, who was to have a chief's share, for he said he alone had led them, and said the earl had given them to him as help. He said too he was the only one who had any quarrel with the South-islanders, but they had none, But Thorbjorn thought he had not done a bit less work, and been not a whit less a leader than Sweyn. They wished also that all the ship-captains should have an even share. But the end of it was that Sweyn had his way, for he had many more men to back him there on the Ness. But Thorbjorn fared out to the Orkneys to find earl Rognvald, and told him how things had gone between them and Sweyn, and how ill pleased they were that he had robbed them of their shares. The earl said it would not be the only time that Sweyn would be found to be no fair man in his dealings, "but "still the day will come when he will take his pay "for his wrong-doings. But ye shall not strive with "him about this. I will give you as much out of my "goods as ye lose by him; my will also is that ye "make no claim against him for this, and it will be "well if greater difficulties do not flow from him; "though I fear that we shall not have long to wait "for this." Thorbjorn answers: "God thank you, lord, "for this honour which ye do to us, and we will not "strive with Sweyn about this, but never hereafter "will I be his friend, and I will do him some dis-"honour instead of this." And after that Thorbjorn declares himself parted from Ingirid Sweyn's sister, and sent her over to the Ness to Sweyn. He gave her a hearty welcome, but thought great shame had been done to him. Then there was feud between them, and it came to what the saw says, "Set a thief to catch a thief." But still neither now plotted openly against the other.

Thorbjorn complains to earl Rognvald.

Earl Rognvald's speech to Thorbjorn.

Thorbjorn separates from Sweyn's sister.

When Sweyn was in the Southern-isles, he had set Margad Grim's son in Duncansby to govern it, and

given into his hand that charge[1] which he held of earl Rognvald. But Margad was quibbling and quarrelsome, and he became hated for his unfairness. But those who were most sufferers by his unfairness ran off to find master Hroald and kept themselves there with him. From that a feud arose between Hroald and Margad. A little after Sweyn had come home Margad fared south to Wick with nineteen men on some business of his own. And ere he came from the south he made an onslaught on master Hroald's house and slew him and some men more. After that they fared to Duncansby to find Sweyn. Then Sweyn gathers men and fares to Lambburg, and got the place ready. There was a good stronghold, and there he sat with sixty men, and flitted thither for himself food and other stores, which they needed to have. The burg stood on some sea-crags, but at the top on the land side there was a stone wall well built. The rocks went far along the sea the other way. They did there much mischief in Caithness in robberies, and flitted thither their spoil into the burg, and they became much hated.

A.D. 1139–48.

Margad Grim's son's overbearing conduct.

Sweyn throws himself into Lambburg with Margad.

Their robberies in Caithness.

87. These tidings came to the ears of earl Rognvald and Sweyn Hroald's son; Sweyn begged the earl for help that he might set this matter straight; many men backed this prayer with Sweyn. So it came about that earl Rognvald bestirred himself and fared over to the Ness, and these chiefs with him; Thorbjorn, Haflidi Thorkel's son, Duffnjal Havard's son, and Richard, and they were the worst in their counsel against Sweyn. They fared to Duncansby, and Sweyn was then away. It was said that he had fared south to Wick, and they fared thither. But when they came there they heard that Sweyn was in Lambburg. Then the earl and his men fared thither. And when they came to the burg, then Sweyn asks who ruled

Earl Rognvald besieges Sweyn and Margad in Lambburg.

[1] *charge*] Sweyn was earl Rognvald's sýslumaðr, *i.e.* his "steward" or "bailiff," in Caithness, whose office it was to collect the earl's income from taxes, fines, and dues. When Sweyn went to the Southern isles he handed over these duties to Margad as his deputy.

A.D. 1139–48.

Sweyn parleys with him and refuses to give up Margad.

over the band. He was told that Earl Rognvald ruled over it. Sweyn greeted him well and asked the earl after his errand. The earl answers that he wills that he should hand over Margad into their power. Sweyn asks whether he shall have peace. The earl said he would not promise that. Then Sweyn said: "I cannot find it in my heart to give Margad up to "the power of Sweyn Hroald's son and his band, or "any other of my foes, those I mean who are with you, "but willingly would I be atoned with you, lord." Then Thorbjorn clerk answers: "Hear now what the "lord's traitor says, that he will willingly be atoned; "but he has already robbed his land, and lain out "like a thief. Ill repayest thou the earl the many "honours which he has done to thee, as thou wilt "[repay] all those over whom thou mayest be able "to come." Sweyn answers: "Thou hast no need "Thorbjorn, to throw in so much talk here, for it will

Earl Rognvald blockades the burg.

"not be done after thy words. But that is my fore-"boding that thou wilt repay him in the worst way "the honour that he has done thee ere ye two part, for "that none will ever reap luck from thee who have "aught to do with thee." Then earl Rognvald bade that men should not rail at one another. After that they sat themselves down round the burg, and forbade all ingoings of food, and so it went on a long time that they could do nothing in the way of attack. And when their food was wellnigh spent, then Sweyn called his men together and sought counsel of them, but all men spoke with one mouth that they would have his guidance and

Sweyn's counsel when food began to fail.

foresight while they had the choice of it. Then Sweyn took to words, and said: "It seems to me most un-"worthy to starve here, but after all to fall into the "power of one's foes. And this too has gone, as was "likely, [and proves] that we lack both wit and luck "when matched with earl Rognvald. And here now it "was tried to bring about peace and atonement, but "neither could be got for Margad my companion; but "though I know that all other men here will have a

" choice of peace, yet I cannot find it in my heart to " hand him over [to fall] under the axe. Now it is " not right that so many should pay for his perplexity, " though I dare not part from him even yet." And after this Sweyn took that counsel to knit together those ropes that they had. But at night then they let Sweyn and Margad slip down out of the burg into the sea. And after that they took to swimming, and struck out along the rocks till the cliffs broke off. After that they stepped on land, and fared up into Sutherland, and so to Murray, and thence to Dufeyri. There they found some Orkneymen in a ship of burden; the man's name was Hallvard who was their chief, but the second's name was Thorkell; they were ten in all. Sweyn and Margad went on board ship with them, and they twelve together fared in the ship of burden south off Scotland till they came to the isle of May. There was then a monastery. Baldwin was the abbot's name who ruled over it. There Sweyn and his men were seven nights weather-bound, and said that they were sent to find the Scot-king from earl Rognvald. The monks doubted their story, and thought they were robbers, and sent to the land for men. But when Sweyn and his men were ware of that, then they sprang on shipboard and plundered the place of much goods. They fared away and in up Murkfirth.[1] They found in Edinburgh David the Scot-king; he gave Sweyn a hearty welcome, and bade them stay with him. Sweyn told the king the whole story of his coming thither, and how things had gone between him and earl Rognvald ere they parted, and so also that they had robbed in the isle of May. Sweyn and his men were there for a while with the Scot-king in good cheer. King David sent men to those men who had lost goods at Sweyn's hands in his voyage, and let them put their own worth on their scathe, but made good with his own money to each his loss. King David offered

A.D. 1139–48.

Sweyn and Margad are lowered from the burg and escape.

They fly south.

Sweyn plunders the monks on the isle of May.

He goes to Edinburgh, and is in high favour with king David.

King David's offer and

[1] *Murk-firth*] The Firth of Forth.

A.D. 1139–48. Sweyn's refusal.

Sweyn to send and fetch his wife from the Orkneys, but to give him such honour in Scotland as he might well be pleased with. Sweyn laid bare his will before the king, and spoke thus that his wish was that Margad should be there behind with the king, but that he should send word to earl Rognvald that he should take an atonement at his hand, but Sweyn says that he was ready to lay all his suit in earl Rognvald's power; he said he would ever be well-pleased if they were good friends, but ill-pleased if they were foes. King David answers: "It is now clear both that this "earl must be worthy, and besides that ye think that "only worth having which looks towards him; for "now thou riskest all on his good faith, but givest "up that which we offer thee." Sweyn says he will never give up his friendship, but still says that he must beg the king to grant him this. The king said so it should be. King David sent men north into the Orkneys with gifts, and this message, that the earl should take atonement from Sweyn. Then Sweyn too fared north into the isles, but Margad stayed behind with the king. King David's messengers fared to find earl Rognvald. He gave them a hearty welcome, took the gifts too which the king sent him, and gave his word as to the atonement. He took Sweyn after that into his peace and full friendship, and then he [Sweyn] fared back to his house.

King David makes up Sweyn's quarrel with earl Rognvald.

Earl Rognvald takes Lambburg and sends Thorbjorn to search for Sweyn.

88. When Sweyn and Margad were away out of Lambburg, those who were in the burg took that counsel to give up the place into earl Rognvald's power. He asked what was the last they knew of Sweyn and Margad; but they told him all about it. And when the earl heard that, he said: "Sooth "it is to say that no man is Sweyn's match of all "those men of whom we have a choice here with "us; such deeds are both manly and hardy. But I "will not be a dastard towards you, though ye have "been woven up in this difficulty with Sweyn; each "of you shall fare away in peace from before me."

A.D. 1139–48.

The earl fared home thence to the Orkneys, but sent Thorbjorn clerk with forty men on board a ship south to Broadfirth to look after Sweyn and Margad, and naught could be heard of him. Then Thorbjorn speaks out and tells them that they are going on wondrously: "Here we are driving along ever so far at Sweyn's "heels, but we have heard that earl Waltheof my "father's bane-man is but a short way hence with a "small following of men. And now if ye will fare "with me against him, then will I give you my word "that I shall not behave as Sweyn, that I should "make you robbed of your share if war-spoil falls "into our hands; for those goods which we shall get "ye shall have, but allot me that only which ye please, "for methinks fame is better than fee." After that they fared to where earl Waltheof was at a feast, and took the house over their heads, and set fire to it at once. Waltheof and his men ran to the doors, and asked who was master of that fire. Thorbjorn said who he was. Waltheof offered atonement for the slaying of Thorstein, but Thorbjorn said there was no need to seek for a settlement. Waltheof and his men defended themselves well for a while. But when the fire pressed them hard, they sprang out, and then their defence lasted but a short while, for they were much worn out by the fire. There fell earl Waltheof and thirty men with him. There Thorbjorn and his men got much goods, and he kept all his promise manfully by his men; they fared after that out to the Orkneys to find earl Rognvald, and he showed that he was well pleased at their errand. Then it was quiet in the isles, and there was good peace.

Thorbjorn proposes to his men to slay earl Waltheof.

Thorbjorn's promise to his men.

They slay earl Waltheof.

Thorbjorn keeps his promise.

In that time dwelt at Wyre, in the Orkneys, Kolbein the burly, a man from Norway, and he was a very mighty man; he built him a good stone-castle there; that was a safe stronghold. Kolbein had to wife Herbjorg, a sister of Hacon bairn, but their mother was Sigrid a daughter of Herborg, Paul's daughter. These were their children: Kolbein carle, Bjarni skald, Sum-

Kolbein the burly and his strong castle.

A.D. 1139–48.

merled, Aslak, Frida. They were all of might and mark.

Ingi, Eystein, and Magnus, Harold Gilli's sons kings of Norway.

89. In that time the sons of Harold Gilli ruled over Norway. Ingi and Sigurd were children in years. Then liegemen were chosen as councillors to those brothers. Eystein was the eldest of them. But Ingi was lawfully begotten, and the liegemen paid most honour to him; he let them have their own way in everything as they chose. In that time these liegemen had most to do with his counsel, Ogmund and Erling, the sons of Kyrping-Worm. They took that counsel with king Ingi, that he should send word to earl Rognvald, and give him a seemly bidding to come and see him. They said, as was true, that the earl had been a great friend of his father, and they bade him to behave as lovingly as he could to the earl, so that he might be more his friend than his brothers', whatever might arise between them. The earl was a kinsman of those brothers,[1] and one of their greatest friends. But when these words came to earl Rognvald, he listened to them quickly, and busks him for his voyage, for he was eager to fare to Norway to see his kinsfolk and friends. On this voyage earl Harold begged to go for the sake of curiosity and pastime; he was then fourteen or fifteen years old. And when the earls were "boun," they fared from the west with chapmen, and had a proper following, and came in the spring early to Norway. They found king Ingi in Bergen, and king Ingi gave them a very hearty welcome; there earl Rognvald found many of his kinsfolk and friends; he stayed there very long that summer. That summer came from abroad, from Micklegarth,[2] Eindrid the young; he had been there long in [the Emperor's] service; he was able to tell them many tidings thence, and men thought it a pastime to ask him about things that had happened abroad out in the world. The earl often talked with him. And once on a time when they were talking, then Eindrid said:

Ogmund and Erling counsel king Ingi to invite earl Rognvald to Norway.

The two earls go to Norway. 1148.

Eindrid the young comes from Constantinople, and earl Rognvald is much taken with him.

[1] *i.e.* of Ogmund and Erling. | [2] Constantinople.

"Methinks it is wonderful, earl, that thou wilt not A.D. 1148.
"fare out to Jewry, and not have stories alone as
"to the tidings which are to be told thence. That is
"the fittest place for such men as thou for the sake of
"your skill; thou wilt be best honoured there when
"thou fallest in with men of rank." And when
Eindrid had said that, many others backed it with
him, and egged the earl on that he should become the
leader of this voyage. Erling threw in many words in
favour of it, and said that he would make up his mind
to join the voyage, if the earl would become their
leader. And so, when so many men of rank and birth
were eager, then the earl gave his word to go on the
voyage. And when the earl and Erling made up their
minds to this, then many great men chose to go on
this voyage. These liegemen: Eindrid the young shall
tell them the way, John Peter's son, Aslak Erlend's son,
and Gudorm Mjola-pate of Helgeland. It was agreed
that none of them should have a larger ship than one
with thirty seats for rowers, save the earl, and no one
but the earl should have a carved or painted or gilded
ship. That should be done so that no man might
envy another for that one had fitted out his ship or
his crew better than another; John limp-leg shall get
a ship made for the earl to sail abroad in, and take
the greatest pains with it.

Eindrid persuades earl Rognvald to go to the Holy Land.

Many chiefs agree to go with him in two years.

Ships built for the voyage.

Earl Rognvald fared home west in the autumn, and
meant to sit two winters in his realm. King Ingi gave
the earl two long-ships, rather small but very hand-
some, and made most for rowing, and they were the
fastest of all ships. Earl Rognvald gave one ship to
earl Harold; that was named "Arrow," but the other
was named "Help." In these ships the earls held on
west across the sea. Earl Rognvald had also taken great
gifts from his friends. It was on Tuesday evening that
the earl's put to sea, and they sailed with a very good
wind that night; and the wind began to get high. Mid-
week-day (Wednesday) there was a mighty storm, but
on Thursday night they were ware of land. It was then

The earls go back to their realm.

They have foul weather and fall among breakers.

A.D. 1148. very dark. They saw the surf of breakers on every side about them. They had sailed in company up to this.

Their ships are dashed to pieces.

Then there was no other choice than to sail on and dash both ships to pieces, and so they did. There were rocks a-head, and a little strip of foreshore, but all the rest above cliffs. There all the men were saved, but they lost much goods; some of it was thrown ashore in the night. Earl Rognvald behaved himself then still best of all men, as he ever did. He was so merry, that he played with his fingers and made verses nearly at every word. He drew his finger-ring off his finger with his lips and sang a song:

Earl Rognvald's cheerfulness.

His verses.

"Here I hang with hammer bent
"The hanger of the falcon's seat,[1]
"On the gallows of the hawk's bridge[2]
"Golden ring to Odin's draught;[3]
"Cave-dwellers of giant voice
"Me so glad your pine hath made,
"That I play now with my fingers,
"Perch of hawk that harries geese."

That land is Shetland.

And when they had got together their baggage, they fared up into the country to look for dwellings, for they thought they knew that they must have come to Shetland. They found homesteads speedily, and then the men were shared out amongst the houses of the district. Men were fain to see the earl where he came, and the mistress asked about his voyage. The earl sang a song:

The freemen welcome them.

Earl Rognvald's verses.

"There was a crash when ocean billow
"Crushed to pieces, Help and Arrow;
"To those wives the storm brought sorrow,
"Wild waves threatened men with scathe;
"I see this voyage of ready-witted
"Earls, will long be had in mind;
"Hard work surely had the seamen
"To withstand the watery shock."

[1] A periphrasis for ring which hangs on the hand, the falcon's seat.

[2] Another periphrasis for the hand.

[3] A periphrasis for "poetry."

The housewife bore a cloak of skin to the earl instead of a cloak; he took it laughingly, and reached out his hands towards her and sang: A.D. 1148. Earl Rognvald's verses to the mistress of the house.

" Here I shake a wrinkled skin-cloak,
" Strangely scanty is my dress;
" That ship-plain that stands o'er our
" Plaids and mantles rises high;
" Still perhaps attired more bravely
" From the eel-mead's briny horse [1]
" We may go; against the rocks
" Dashed the surf the yardarm's steed."

Then great fires were made for them, and they roasted themselves at the fires. Asa was the name of the waiting-maid. She went out for water, and another woman with her. But when they came to the water Asa stumbled into the well in the fog; but she ran home much chilled, and spoke between her shiverings, and men could not make out what she said. The earl says he knows her tongue, and sang: Earl Rognvald's verses on the waiting-maid.

" Be quiet, now, alas! but Asa
" Atatata! in water lieth;
" Hutututu! where by the fire
" Shall I sit? I'm very cold."

The earl sends twelve of his men to Einar in Gullberwick, but he said he would not take them in unless the earl came himself. And when earl Rognvald hears that, then he sang: Earl Rognvald's verses on Einar of Gullberwick.

" Einar says that he will nourish
" None of Rognvald's trusty men
" Save the earl himself; now Odin's
" Ocean [2] rises in my throat;
" Well I know the stout of heart
" Ne'er yet broke his word to men;
" Late at even in I went
" Where the fires brightly blazed."

[1] This and "the yard-arm's steed" are periphrases for "a ship."
[2] A periphrasis for "song."

A.D. 1148. This event happened one day south in Dynröstvoe in Shetland, that an old and poor householder waited long for his mate, but all the boats rowed out, each as it was manned. Then came a man to the old householder in a white cowl; and asked why he did not row out a-fishing like other men. The householder says that his mate was not come. "Master," says the cowl-man wilt "thou that I row with thee?" "That I will" says the householder, "but still I must have the lot which "falls to my boat; for I have many bairns at home, "and I work for them as well as I can." After that they rowed out off Dynrösthead and inside the Hundholms. There was a strong current there where they lay and great eddies; they had to lie in the eddy and fish in the race. The cowl-man sat in the bow and paddled against the tide; but the householder was to fish. The householder bade him mind that they were not borne into the race; for then he said they would run great risks. The cowl-man did not behave as he bade him, and cared not though the householder came into a little danger. A little after they were borne into the race, and the householder was very scared and said "Wretch that I was for my ill-luck when I took "you to-day to row; for here I must die; but my folk "at home have no one to help them, and will all "come to beggary if I am lost." And the householder was so afraid that he wept, and he dreaded that his death was nigh. The cowl-man answers, "Be "cheerful master, and do not weep; for he will pull "us two out of the race who let us fall into it." After that the cowl-man rowed out of the race, and the householder was very glad at that. Then they rowed to land, and put up the boat. And the householder bade the cowl-man to go with him and share the fish. But the cowl-man told the householder to share them as he liked; he says he will not have more than his third. There was much folk come down to the strand, both men and women, and many needy folk. The cowl-man gave the poor all the fish which had

Earl Rognvald helps a poor fisherman in disguise.

fallen to his lot that day; and then he made ready to go away. There was a steep slope to walk up, and many woman sat on the slope. But as he went up the slope his foot slipped, for it was slippery after rain, and he fell down from the slope. A woman was the first to see that and laughed loud at him, and after her other folk. But when the cowl-man heard that he sang: A.D. 1148.

Earl Rognvald's verses on his fall.

" The nymph of silk with eyes of fire,
" Carps aloud at my attire,
" Louder laughs the lovely may,
" Than she aught at my array:
" Few can tell an earl indeed,
" Thus disguised in fisher's weed,
" Yet through billows danger scorning,
" I drew the boat this early morning."

After that the cowl-man went away; and men became aware later that this cowl-man had been earl Rognvald. It became also known afterwards to many men that there had been many such feats of his which were both helpful in the sight of God, and pleasant in the eyes of men. Men reckoned (to him) also as a proverb what stood in the verse that "Few can tell " an earl in fisher's weeds."

Earl goes back to the Orkneys. 1148, autumn. Armod and Oddi, two skalds from Iceland, come to earl Rognvald.

The earl stayed very long in Shetland, and fared in the autumn south to the Orkneys, and sat in his realm. That autumn two Iceland men came to him, the one's name was Armod, and he was a skald; the other's Oddi the little Glum's son, a man from Broadfirth, and he too made good verses. The earl took to them both and gave them board and lodging in his train. The earl had a great Yule feast, and bade men to it and gave gifts. He reached out a spear inlaid with gold to Armod skald, and shook it as he did that, and bade him make a song in return. [Armod sang]:

Armod's verses.

" The best of chiefs, of Odin's storm
" The rouser, does not trust his gifts
" To other men to bring to me,
" The poet who will sound his praise;

A.D. 1148.

" The noble warder of the land,
" The first of kings, to Armod bore
" This best blood-taper[1] bright with gold,
" And placed the weapon in his hand."

It fell out one day about Yule that men were looking at the hangings; then the earl said to Oddi the little:

Earl Rognvald caps verses with Oddi.

" Make thou a song about the behaviour of that man
" who is there on the hanging, and have thou thy
" song sung when I have ended my song; and mind
" and have none of those words in thy song that I
" have in my song." The earl sang:

The earl's verses.

" The ring-lord of the falcon's seat
" Who, old in years, stands on the hanging
" Outside, has let the sheath-wand fall
" Down from his shoulder by his side;
" Bandy-legs will not move forward,
" Through the grove of Ocean's brightness
" Waxes wrath with him who loves
" The icicle of battle-hour."

Oddi sang:

Oddi's verses.

" Sword-god here with stooping shoulders
" Stands, and thinks to hew with sword
" His rival in a woman's love
" At the door of yonder tent;
" He will do the men a mischief
" With his sword; and now 'tis time
" For the loaders of the sea-skates
" To make friends ere wounds are given."

It happened one day that a mad man got loose from his bonds, and rushed at earl Rognvald; and clutched him so fast that the earl all but tottered to his fall. Then the earl sang a song:

Earl Rognvald's verses on the madman.

" At the mantle of the monarch
" The sturdy beggar caught and clutched,
" The carle was on the eve of hurling
" Hard to earth the liberal lord;

[1] A periphrasis for a sword.

A.D. 1148–50.

" Still the tree of steel stood upright,
" Though men said they saw him stagger;
" Might enow the sword-edge scatterer
" Careful keeps to hold his own."

Earl Rognvald asks bishop William to go abroad with him.

The earl had also bishop William at his feast that Yule, and many of his chieftains. Then he laid bare his plans how he meant to go away from the land and out to Jewry; he begged the bishop to go with him on his voyage. The bishop was a Paris clerk, and the earl wished above all things that he should be their spokesman. The bishop promised to go with him.

The Orkney chiefs who made ready to go.

90. These men made ready to go with earl Rognvald: Magnus, son of Havard Gunni's son, and Sweyn Hroald's son. They were captains of ships both of them. These fared of the lesser men, so far as they are named: Thorgeir Scotpoll, Oddi the little, Thorbjorn the swarthy, and Armod. These were the earl's skalds. Then there were also these men: Thorkell crook-eye, and Grimkel of Glettness, and Blian, son of Thorstein of Flydruness.—And when those two winters were spent which they were to have to get ready, earl Rognvald fared out of the Orkneys east to Norway early in the spring, and wished to know how those liegemen got on with their outfit. And when the earl came to Bergen, he found there Erling wryneck and John limp-leg the earl's brother-in-law. There too had come Aslak, but Gudorm came a little after. There too was that ship off the wharf which John had got made for the earl; it had five-and-thirty seats for rowers, and was a very careful piece of work, and the figure-head and taffrail and weather-vanes were all overlaid with gold, and she was carved and painted in many other places; the ship was the greatest treasure of her kind. Eindrid came also from time to time to the town that summer, and always says that he would be boun the week after; but men were ill-pleased when they had to wait so long. Some wished that he should not be waited for, and

1150 (Spring.)

Earl Rognvald goes to Norway to look after his fleet.

John limp-leg had built the earl a splendid ship.

Eindrid the young keeps them waiting.

A.D. 1150. said that men had sailed on such voyages before though Eindrid were not with them. And a little while after Eindrid came to the town and gave out that he was then boun, and then the earl bade him set sail as soon as ever he thought he was like to get a fair wind. And when that day came that they thought they had a good chance, they pulled out of the town and took to their sails. The wind was rather light, and the earl's ship made little way, for she needed a good breeze. The other chiefs slackened sail, and would not sail away from the earl. But as they drew away from among the isles, the wind began to get sharp, and then it grew so high that they had to reef sail on board the smaller ships, but the earl's ship then began to walk fast. Then they saw two big ships sailing after them and at once by and beyond them. One of those ships was a work of much pains, it was a drake; both the head forward and the coils aft were much gilded. It was gay and gaudy, and painted all above the water-line wherever it seemed to look well. The earl's men said that there must Eindrid be sailing, "and he has kept "little to that which was laid down, that no one "should have a carved or gilded ship but thou, lord." The earl says: "Great is Eindrid's pride. But now "there is this excuse for his refusing to be equal "with us that we have been so far wrong in our "opinion as to him; but it is hard to see whether "luck goes before him or after him; we will not "shape our course after his haste." Then Eindrid bore speedily away from them in that big ship, but the earl kept in company with his ships, and they had a good passage. They came about autumn to the Orkneys safe and sound. Then it was thought best that they should sit there that winter; some sat at their own cost, but some were with the householders, and many with the earl.—In the isles there was great stir that winter, and the Easterlings and the Orkneyingers fell asunder about bargains and love-matters, and many quarrels sprang up. The earl

At last they sail without him.

The earl's ship sails well, but Eindrid overtakes them and outsails them.

Earl Rognvald predicts ill-luck to Eindrid.

Eindrid sails away from them.

The earl and his fleet reach the Orkneys safely.

The Easterlings and the

took great pains to keep watch on those on both sides who thought they were bound to repay him for all the good he had done them, and that they were worthy of all good from him.—Of Eindrid and his messmates that is to be told that they came to Shetland; and he dashed there that good ship to splinters and lost much goods, but the lesser ship was saved. Eindrid was that winter in Shetland, and sent men east to Norway to let them build him a ship for his voyage abroad.

A.D. 1150–51. Orkneyingers do not agree. Eindrid's big ship is wrecked.

There was a man named Arni spindleshanks, a messmate of Eindrid's; he fared south into the Orkneys that winter and nine of his companions with him. Arni was a very unfair man and bold and strong. He and his companions sat at his own cost in one of the isles that winter. Arni buys malt and cattle for slaughter from a tenant of Sweyn Asleif's son; but when he asked for the price, Arni put him off. And a second time, when he asked for it, he was paid with threats, and ere they parted Arni gave him a blow with the back of his axe and said this: "Go "now and tell that champion Sweyn with whom "thou art ever threatening us, and let him set thy "lot straight; thou wilt not need more than this." The husbandman went and told Sweyn and bade him set his lot straight. Sweyn answers shortly about it, and said he could make no promise about it. It was one day about spring that Sweyn fared to get in his rents; they were four of them in an eight-oared boat. Their course lay by that isle in which Arni and his men sat. Sweyn told his men to pull in towards the land, but there was a strong ebb tide on. Sweyn went on shore alone, and had his hand-axe in his hand and no other weapons. He bade them watch the boat so that the ebb did not leave it high and dry. Arni and his men sat in an outhouse a short way from the sea. Sweyn went up to the outhouse and into it. Arni and five of his men were inside and hailed Sweyn; he took their greeting, and spoke to Arni, and told him that he must pay up his debt

Arni spindleshanks spoils one of Sweyn's tenants.

Sweyn looks Arni up and demands payment.

A.D. 1150–51.

to the husbandman. Arni said there was good time still for that. Sweyn bade him do as he asked him, and pay up the debt. Arni said he would not do so for all that. Sweyn said he would only ask him for a little more, and with that he struck his axe against Arni's head, so that it went up to the back of the blade, and he lost his hold of the axe. Sweyn sprang out, but Arni's messmates looked to him, but some ran after Sweyn down into the mud. So they ran along the shore and one was fleetest; Sweyn and his pursuer were then at very close quarters. Great sea-weed tangles lay on the shore in the mud. Sweyn caught up one of the tangles and dashed it into the face of him who was nearest to him, sand and all. This man took to rubbing his eyes with both hands, and wiped the sand out of them. But Sweyn got clear off to his boat, and fared home to Gairsay to his house. A little while after Sweyn fared over to the Ness on an errand of his own; he sent word to earl Rognvald that he should take an atonement for the slaying of Arni spindleshanks. And as soon as these words came to him, he [the earl] summoned to him all those who had the blood feud for the slaying of Arni, and made matters up with them, so that they were pleased, and he paid up the fine himself. Much other mischief the earl made good with his own money that was wrought that winter both by the Easterlings and Orkneyingers, for they had pulled very ill together. In the spring very early the earl summoned a crowded Thing in Hrossey; thither came all the chiefs who were in his realm. Then he made it bare to them that he meant to go out of the land to Jewry, and says that he would give over his realm into the hands of Harold Maddad's son, his kinsman. He begged this that all would follow him like true men in whatever he might need while he was away. Earl Harold was then nearly a man of twenty.[1]

Arni refuses, and Sweyn slays him.

Arni's followers pursue Sweyn, who escapes.

Earl Rognvald makes the matter up with Arni's next of kin.

1151. Earl Rognvald holds a great Thing the next spring, and gives over the realm into earl Harold's hands while he is away.

[1] *man of twenty*] He was then between eighteen and nineteen.

He was a tall man of growth, and stout and strong, an ugly man and wise enough, and men thought him a likely man for a chief. Thorbjorn clerk had then most share in ruling the land with him when earl Rognvald first fared out of the Orkneys. A.D. 1151.

91. Earl Rognvald busked him that summer to leave the Orkneys, and he was rather late boun, for they had a long while to wait for Eindrid, as his ship did not come from Norway which he had let be made there the winter before. But when they were boun, they held on their course away from the Orkneys in fifteen big ships. These were then the ship-captains; earl Rognvald, bishop William, Erling wry-neck, Aslak Erlend's son, Gudorm, Mjola-pate of Helgeland, Magnus Havard's son, Sweyn Hroald's son, Eindrid the young, John Peter's son limpleg, and those five whose names are not told. They were Eindrid's men. They sailed away from the Orkneys, and south to Scotland, and so on to England, and as they sailed by Northumberland, off Humbermouth, Armod sang a song: Earl Rognvald sails away from the Orkneys with fifteen ships.

" The sea was high off Humbermouth
" When our ships were beating out,
" Bends the mast and sinks the land
" 'Neath our lee off Vesla-sand;
" Wave with veil of foam that rises
" Drives not in the eyes of him
" Who now sits at home; the stripling
" From the meeting rideth dry." Armod's verses.

They sailed thence south round England and to France.[1] Nothing is said of their voyage before that they came to that seaburg which is named Nerbon.[2] There these tidings had happened, that the earl who before They sail south round England to France and Spain.

[1] *France*] Valland in its widest sense means all the Romano-Celtic nations in the west of Europe, and is used just as the Germans speak of Welschland. In a more restricted sense it is used of the north-west of France, or of Brittany and Normandy. Fm. S. iv. 59. Here it seems to include both France and Spain.

[2] This is probably the best reading: The " seaburg " might be Bilbao on the " Nerbion " or " Nervion."

A.D. 1151. They arrive at Nerbon (Bilbao).

had ruled the town was dead; his name was Germanus; he left behind him a daughter young and fair, whose name was Ermingerd. She kept watch and ward over her father's inheritance with the counsel of the most noble men of her kinsfolk. They gave that counsel to the queen that she should bid the earl to a worthy feast, and said that by that she would be famous if she welcomed heartily such men of rank who had come so far to see her, and who would bear her fame still further. The queen bade them see to that. And when this counsel had been agreed on by them, men were sent to the earl and he was told that the queen bade him to a feast with as many of his men as he chose to bring with him. The earl took this bidding with thanks; he chose out all his best men for this journey with him. And when they came to the feast, there was the best cheer, and nothing was spared which could do the earl more honour than he had ever met before. One day it happened as the earl sat at the feast that the queen came into the hall and many women with her, she held a beaker of gold in her hand. She was dressed in the best clothes, had her hair loose as maidens wont to have, and had put a golden band round her brow. She poured the wine into the earl's cup, but her maidens danced before them. The earl took her hand and the beaker too and set her on his knee, and they talked much that day. Then the earl sang a song:

Queen Ermingerd makes earl Rognvald a feast.

The queen herself is cup-bearer.

Queen Ermingerd and earl Rognvald.

Earl Rognvald's verses.

"Sure it is, O lady lovely,
"That thy stature far outvies
"Form of women whose attire
"Gleams well fringed with Frodi's meal;[1]
"Locks as soft as yellow silk,
"Lets the maiden downward fall
"On her shoulders; I have reddened
"Eager eagles' crooked claws."

[1] A periphrasis for "gold."

A.D. 1151.

The earl stayed there very long in the best of cheer. The townsmen pressed the earl to settle down there, and spoke out loudly about how they would give him the lady to wife. The earl said he would fare on that voyage which he had purposed, but said he would come thither as he fared back, and then they could carry out their plan [or not] as they pleased. After that the earl busked him away thence with his fellow voyagers. And as they sailed west of Thrasness they have a good wind; then they sat and drank and were very merry. Then the earl sang a song:

The townsmen wish to marry earl Rognvald to queen Ermingerd.

Earl Rognvald sails away.

His verses at sea.

" Noble youth will long remember
" Words which Ermingerda spoke;
" Brave bride wills that we should ride
" O'er Ran's home to Jordan's stream;
" But when back the water-horse's
" Woods[1] fare north across the wave,
" We will cut the whale-land then
" Home to Nerbon at the fall."

This Armod sang:

Armod's verses.

" Unless changes my fate hard,
" I shall fair Ermingerd
" Ne'er meet again;
" Many nurseth for that noble maiden his pain;
" Were I not blessed in slumbering—
" 'Twere luck past all numbering—
" One night by her side;
" The fairest of faces hath surely that bride."

Oddi the little sang a song:

Oddi the little's verses.

" We are scarcely, as I ween,
" Worthy of fair Ermingerd;
" Well I know that noble crown-land
" May be called the king of queens;
" For it well befits that goddess
" Of the ringfield's fire to find
" A better husband altogether;
" May she live blest 'neath seat of sun."

[1] A periphrasis for " ships."

A.D. 1151. They come to Gallicia. Their bargain with the landsmen for a market.

92. They fared till they came west to Galicialand in the winter before Yule, and meant to sit there Yule over. They dealt with the landsmen and begged them to set them a market to buy food; for the land was barren and bad for food, and the landsmen thought it hard to feed that host of men. Now these tidings had happened there, that in that land sat a chief, who was a stranger, in a castle, and he had laid on the landsmen very heavy burdens. He harried them on the spot if they did not agree at once to all that he asked, and he offered them the greatest tyranny and oppression. And when the earl spoke to the landsmen about bringing him food to buy, they made him that offer, that they would set them up a market thenceforth on till Lent, but they must rid them in some way or other of the men in the castle; but earl Rognvald was to bear the brunt in return for the right of having all the goods that were gotten from them. The earl laid this bare before his men, and sought counsel from them as to which choice he should take, but most of them were eager to fall on the castlemen, and thought it bid fair for spoil. And so earl Rognvald and his host went into that agreement with the landsmen. But when it drew near to Yule, earl Rognvald called his men to a talk and said:

Earl Rognvald is to take the castle of a stranger tyrant.

Earl Rognvald takes counsel with his men how to take the castle.

"Now have we sat here awhile, and yet we have had
"nothing to do with the castlemen, but the landsmen
"are getting rather slack in their dealings with us;
"methinks they think that what we promised them will
"have no fulfilment; but still that is not manly not
"to turn our hands to what we have promised. Now,
"kinsman Erling will I take counsel from you in what
"way we shall win the castle, for I know that ye are
"here some of you the greatest men for good counsel;
"but still I will beg all those men who are here that
"each will throw in what [he thinks] is likeliest to be
"worth trying." Erling answered the earl's speech: "I
"will not be silent at your bidding, but I am not a
"man for counsel; and it would be better rather to call
"on those men for that who have seen more, and are

Erling's answer and counsel.

" more wont to such exploits, as is Eindrid the young. A.D. 1151.
" But here it will be as the saying goes, 'You must
" 'shoot at a bird before you get him.' And so we will
" try to give some counsel whatever comes of it. We
" shall to-day, if it seems to you not bad counsel or to
" the other shipmasters, go all of us to the wood, and
" bear each of us three shoulder-bundles of faggots on
" our backs under the castle; for it seems to me as
" though the lime will not be trusty if a great fire is
" brought to it. We shall let this go on for the three
" next days and see what turn things take." They
did as Erling bade. And when that toil was over, it They follow it.
was come right on to Yule. The bishop would not let
them make their onslaught while the Yule high feast
stood over them.

That chief's name was Godfrey who dwelt in the Godfrey the tyrant's name.
castle; he was a wise man and somewhat stricken in
years. He was a good clerk, and had fared far and
wide, and knew many tongues. He was a grasping
man and a very unfair man. He calls together his Godfrey takes counsel with his men.
men when he saw their [Rognvald's] undertakings, and
said to them: " This scheme seems to me clever and
" harmful to us which the Northmen have taken in
" hand; it will befall us thus if fire is borne against
" us, that the stone wall round the castle will be
" untrusty, but the Northmen are strong and brave;
" we shall have to look for a sharp fight from them
" if they get a chance. I will now take counsel with
" you what shall be done in this strait which has
" befallen us." But his men all bade him see to
that for them. Then he began to speak, and said: His scheme to get intelligence.
" My first counsel is that ye shall bind a cord round
" me and let me slide down from the castle wall to-
" night. I shall have on bad clothes and fare into
" the camp of the Northmen, and know what I can
" find out." This counsel was taken as he had laid
it down. And when Godfrey came to earl Rognvald, Godfrey goes as a spy into the camp
and said he was an old beggar carle, and spoke in
Spanish; they understood that tongue best. He fared

A.D. 1151. about among all the booths and begged for food. He found out that there was great envy and splitting into parties amongst the Northmen. Eindrid was the head of one side, but the earl of the other. Godfrey came to Eindrid and got to talk with him, and brought that before him that the chief who held the castle had sent him thither. "He will have fellowship with thee, "and he hopes that thou wilt give him peace if the "castle be won; he would rather that thou shouldst "have his treasures, if thou wilt do so much in "return for them, than those who would rather see "him a dead man." Of such things they talked and much besides. But the earl was kept in the dark; all this went on by stealth at first. And when Godfrey had stayed a while with the earl's men, then he turned back to his men. But this was why they did not flit what they owned out of the castle, because they did not know whether the storm would take place at all; besides they could not trust the landfolk.

of the Northmen.

He makes a bargain with Eindrid, who betrays earl Rognvald.

93. It was the tenth day of Yule that earl Rognvald rose up. The weather was good. Then he bade his men put on their arms, and let the host be called up to the castle with the trumpet. Then they drew the wood towards it, and piled a bale[1] round about the wall; the earl drew up his men for the onslaught where each of them should go. The earl goes against it from the south with the Orkneyingers; Erling and Aslak from the west; John and Gudorm from the east; Eindrid the young from the north, with his followers. And when they were boun for the storm they cast fire into the bale. Then the earl sang:

Earl Rognvald and his men storm Godfrey's castle on all sides, Jan. 3rd, 1152.

"Ermingerd's white handmaid bore
"Wine to men, the goddess bright
"Of driven snow, so fair she seemed
"To my vision when we met;

Earl Rognvald's verses before the onslaught.

[1] *bale*] The old meaning of the word was a heap of fuel for a fire, a pyre, whence all the other meanings of the word and its compounds, as "baleful" and "balefire" are derived.

" Now the warrior band resolves A.D. 1152.
" To rush onward and attack
" Castle-garrison with fire;
" Sharp swords spring from out the sheaths."

Now they begin to press on fast both with fire and weapons. Then they shot hard into the work, for they could not reach them by any other attack. The castlemen stood loosely here and there on the wall, for they had to guard themselves against the shots. They poured out too burning pitch and brimstone, and the earl's men took little harm by that. Now it turned out, as Erling had guessed, that the castle wall crumbled before the fire when the lime would not stand it, and there were great breaches in it. Sigmund angle was the name of a man in the earl's body-guard; he was Sweyn Asleif's son's stepson; he pressed on faster than any man to the castle, and ever went on before the earl; he was then scarcely grown up. And when the storm had lasted awhile, then all men fled from the castle wall. The wind was on from the south, and the reek of the smoke lay towards Eindrid and his men. And when the fire began to spread very fast, then the earl made them bring water, and cool the rubble that was burned. And then there was a lull in the assault.[1] Then earl Rognvald sang a song:

The wall of the castle yields to fire and breaches are made.

Sigmund angle's bravery.

" Aye shall I that Yule remember,
" Warrior! which we spent at Agdir,
" East among the fells with Solmund,
" Steward strong of Norway's king;
" Now again at that same season
" Of another year as then
" Stunning din of swords I make
" On the castle's southern verge."

Earl Rognvald sings during a lull in the storm.

[1] M.O. reads thus: " and cool the " grit that had run (been fused by " the heat) before they made ready " to the storm. But while the lull " lasted the earl sang this song."

A.D. 1152. And again he sang:

"Well pleased was I when the wine-tree[1]
"Listened to my winning words;
"Past all hope then was I given
"At harvest to the foreign maid;
"Now again I sate the eagles,
"Since full well we love the girl
"Nobly born; and now the freestone
"Set in mortar must give way."

Sigmund angle sings.

Then Sigmund angle sang this:

"Bear these words back when the spring comes
"To the goddess needle-plying,
"Wearing gems from fell-side won,
"Bear them o'er the sea to Orkney;
"That no warrior, though he were
"Wight of elder years, went farther
"Forward 'neath the castle walls,
"When strokes sung high at early morn."

Earl Rognvald and Sigmund angle storm the castle and take it.

After that the earl made ready to storm, and Sigmund angle with him. There was then but a little struggle, and they got into the castle. There many men were slain, but those who would take life gave themselves up to the earl's power. There they took much goods, but they did not find the chief, and scarcely any precious things. Then there was forthwith much talk how Godfrey could have got away; and then at once they had the greatest doubt of Eindrid the young, that he must have passed him away somehow, and that he [Godfrey] must have gone away under the smoke to the wood.

Godfrey escapes with his treasures by Eindrid's treachery.

After that earl Rognvald and his host stayed there a short time in Galicialand, and held on west off Spain. They harried wide in that part of Spain which belonged to the heathen, and got there much goods. They ran up into a thorpe there, as the earl told them. But those who dwelt in the thorpe ran together and made

[1] A periphrasis for "woman."

ready to battle; then there was a hard struggle, and the landfolk fled at last, but many were slain. Then the earl sang a song: A.D. 1152.

Earl Rognvald sings.

" Lady-meeting now I long for;
" Out away in Spain was driven
" Foe in speedy flight, and many
" Ring-trees[1] panting rushed before me;
" We were worthy Ermingerda,
" For that then sweet songs were chaunted
" In our praises to the people;
" Corses covered all the field."

A storm overtakes them west of Spain.

After that they sailed west off Spain, and got there a great storm, and lay three days at anchor, so that they shipped very much water, and it lay near that they had lost their ships. Then the earl sang:

Earl Rognvald sings.

" Cool fields goddess![2] never shall I
" Feel afraid in wintry storm
" If along the good ship's sides
" Hemp and cable do not snap;
" To the white-hued clad in linen,
" To lady proud my word when sailing
" South I gave; and now the wind
" To the Sound soon bears my ship."

They beat through the Gut of Gibraltar.

After that they hoisted their sails, and beat out to Njorfa Sound[3] with a very cross wind.[4] Then Oddi the little sang:

" Hearty friend of men, who drinketh
" Mead in-doors, hath often spent
" Seven much more cheerful days
" With the captain of the sound-tree;[5]
" But to-day the high-souled Rognvald,
" With his band of shielded men,
" On his bright-hued wooden horse
" Ran for Njorvi's narrow Sound."

[1] Ring-trees, a periphrasis for men.

[2] Cool fields goddess, a periphrasis for lady, *i.e.* Ermengerda.

[3] The Gut of Gibraltar.

[4] The Danish Translation reads, " for the wind was very much on " one side." Fl. reads " a very fair wind."

[5] A periphrasis for " a ship."

A.D. 1152. The earl sings.

And as they were just beating into the Sound, the earl sang:

"Eastern wind hath borne along
"Our ships at winter-tide
"Far from the French lady's hands;
"Come, run out our boom to tack;
"We shall have to gird our sea-stag
"Half-mast high off Spain to-day;
"Soon to Svidrir's stormy Sound,
"Speeds the gale our ships along."

When they sail through the Gut Eindrid deserts them and sails to Marseilles.

They sailed through Njorfa Sound, and then the weather began to get better. And then as they bore out of the Sound, Eindrid the young parted company from the earl with six ships. He sailed over the sea to Marseilles, but Rognvald and his ships lay behind at the Sound, and men talked much about it, how Eindrid had now himself given proof whether or not he had helped Godfrey away. Then the earl made them hoist their sails; they sailed on the main, and steered a south course along Sarkland.[1] Then Rognvald sang a song:

Earl Rognvald sails south along the Barbary coast.

His song.

"North away the land still trends,
"Brave ship spares not now the wave,
"Nor shall now this man be slow
"To break out in burst of song;
"This soft belt of earth[2] I cut
"Off the Spanish shore to-day;
"With thin keel, this hateful bight
"To a lazy longshoreman."

They fall, though the nights were light, into sea-fogs and see nothing.

Nothing is told of the voyage of the earl and his men before they came south off Sarkland, and lay in the neighbourhood of Sardinia, and knew not what land they were near. The weather had turned out in this wise, that a great calm set in and mists and smooth seas—though the nights were light—and they saw scarcely at all from their ships, and so they made little way. One morning it happened that the mist

[1] Barbary.

[2] A periphrasis for "sea."

lifted. Men stood up and looked about them. Then A.D. 1152.
the earl asked if men saw anything new. They said
they saw naught but two islets, little and steep; and
when they looked for the islets the second time, then The fog clears off and they see two huge ships called Dromonds.
one of the islets was gone. They told this to the earl;
he began to say: "That can have been no islets, that
" must be ships which men have out here in this part
" of the world, which they call Dromonds;[1] those are
" ships big as holms to look on. But there where the
" other Dromond lay a breeze must have come down
" on the sea, and they must have sailed away, but
" these must be wayfaring men, either chapmen or faring
" in some other way on their business." After that
the earl lets them call to him the bishop and all
the shipmasters; then he began to say: "I call you Earl Rognvald proposes to attack one of them.
" together for this, lord bishop and Erling my kins-
" man; see ye any scheme or chance of ours that we
" may win victory in some way over those who are
" on the Dromond." The bishop answers: "Hard, I
" guess, will it be for you to run your long-ships under
" the Dromond, for ye will have no better way of board-
" ing than by grappling the bulwarks with a broad axe, The bishop advises him not do so.
" but they will have brimstone and boiling pitch to
" throw under your feet and over your heads. Ye may
" see, earl, so wise as ye are, that it is the greatest
" rashness to lay one's self and one's men in such risk."
Then Erling began to speak: "Lord bishop," he says, Erling says that they ought to make the attempt.
" likely it is that ye are best able to see this that there
" will be little hope of victory in rowing against them.
" But somehow it seems to me that though we try to
" run under the Dromond, so methinks it will be that
" the greatest weight of weapons will fall beyond our
" ships, if we hug her close, broadside to broadside.
" But if it be not so, then we can put off from them
" quickly, for they will not chase us in the Dromond."

[1] Also called "Dromons" from the Greek "δρόμων," used at first for a swift ship of war, and afterwards for any large vessel. *See* Du Cange, s.v. "Dromones."

A.D. 1152. The earl began to say: "That is spoken like a man and
The earl determines to attack the Dromond.
"quite to my mind. I will now make that clear to
"the shipmasters and all the crews, that each man
"shall busk him in his room, and arm himself as
"he best can. After that we will row up to them.
"But if they are Christian chapmen, then it will be
"in our power to make peace with them; but if they
"are heathen, as I feel sure they are, then Almighty
"God will yield us that mercy that we shall win the
"victory over them. But of the war-spoil which we
"get there, we shall give the fiftieth penny to poor
"men." After that men got out their arms and heightened the bulwarks of their ships, and made themselves ready according to the means which they had at
They row against her.
hand. The earl settles where each of his ships should run in. Then they made an onslaught on her by rowing, and pulled up to her as briskly as they could.

Behaviour of those on board the Dromond.
94. But when those who were on board the Dromond saw that ships were rowing up to them, and that men meant to make an onslaught on them, they took
They dare the Northmen to come on.
silken stuffs and costly goods and hung them out on the bulwarks, and then made great shoutings and hailings; and it seemed to the earl's men as though they dared
Earl Rognvald lays his ship alongside.
the Northmen to come on against them. Earl Rognvald laid his ship aft alongside the Dromond on the starboard, but Erling aft too on the larboard. John and
All the ships hug the Dromond close, but her sides are too high to board.
Aslak, they laid their ships foreward each on his own board, but the others amidships on both boards, and all the ships hugged her close, broadside to broadside. And when they came under the Dromond, her sides were so high out of the water that they could not reach up with their weapons. But they [the foe] poured down blazing brimstone and flaming pitch over them. And it was as Erling guessed it would be, that the greatest weight of weapons fell out beyond the ships, and they had no need to shield themselves on that side which was next to the Dromond, but those who were on the other side held their shields over their heads and sheltered themselves in that way. And when they

made no way with their onslaught, the bishop shoved his ship off and two others, and they picked out and sent thither their bowmen, and they lay within shot, and shot thence at the Dromond, and then that onslaught was the hardest that was made. Then those [on board the Dromond] got under cover, but thought little about what those were doing who had laid their ships under the Dromond. Earl Rognvald called out then to his men that they should take their axes and hew asunder the broadside of the Dromond in the parts where she was least iron-bound. But when the men in the other ships saw what the earls men were about, they also took the like counsel. Now where Erling and his men had laid their ship a great anchor hung on the Dromond, and the fluke was hung by the crook over the bulwark, but the stock pointed down to Erling's ship. Audun the red was the name of Erling's bowman; he was lifted up on the anchor-stock. But after that he hauled up to him more men, so that they stood as thick as ever they could on the stock, and thence hewed at the sides as they best could, and that hewing was by far the highest up. And when they had hewn such large doors that they could go into the Dromond, they made ready to board, and the earl and his men got into the lower hold, but Erling and his men into the upper. And when both their bands had come up on the ship, there was a fight both great and hard. On board the Dromond were Saracens, what we call Mahomet's unbelievers. There were many blackamoors, and they made the hardest struggle. Erling got there a great wound on his neck near his shoulders as he sprang up into the Dromond. That healed so ill, that he bore his head on one side ever after. That was why he was called wryneck. And when they met, earl Rognvald and Erling, the Saracens gave way before them to the forepart of the ship, but the earl's men then boarded her one after another. Then they were more numerous, and they pressed the enemy hard. They saw that on board the Dromond was that one man who was both

A.D. 1152.

The bishop clears her decks by arrows.

Earl Rognvald bids his men cut their way through her sides.

Audun the red.

Audun the red the first man to board the Dromond.

Earl Rognvald and Erling follow, and Erling is wounded.

They clear the decks and take the chief of the Saracens prisoner.

A.D. 1152. taller and fairer than the others; the Northmen held it to be the truth that that man must be their chief. Earl Rognvald said that they should not turn their weapons against him, if they could take him in any other way. Then they hemmed him in and bore him down with their shields, and so he was taken, and afterwards carried to the bishop's ship, and few men with him. They slew there much folk,[1] and got much goods and many costly things. When they had ended the greatest part of their toil, they sat down and rested themselves. Then the earl sang this:

Most of the rest are slain.

Earl Rognvald's songs.

"Famous in victorious glory,
"Erling, brave in battle, went
"'Gainst the galleon, tree of spears,[2]
"When our banners dripped with blood;
"Low we laid the swarthy champions,
"Blood of foemen then was shed
"Far and wide, and soldiers brave
"Died their keen-edged faulchions red."

And again he sang:

"We make up our minds to win
"The galleon, slaughter this I call;
"At early dawn the warrior crew
"Reddened all their blades with gore;
"North and from the north the lady
"Of this shower of spears will hear
"Up to Nerbon; from our people
"Foemen loathsome life-loss bore."

Earl Rognvald declares that Audun the red was the first man on board the Dromond.

Men spoke of these tidings which had happened there. Then each spoke of what he thought he had seen; and men talked about who had been the first to board the Dromond, and could not agree about it. Then some said that it was foolish that they should not all have one story about these great tidings; and the end of it

[1] Fl. reads, "but every other "man's child they slew," which is wrong. Compare the sale of the prisoners further on.

[2] Periphrasis for man, *i.e.* Erling.

was that they agreed that earl Rognvald should settle the dispute; and afterwards they should all back what he said. Then the earl sang: A.D. 1152.

" First upon the gloomy galleon
" Ruddy Audun went with eager
" Daring, and the warrior dauntless
" Swift dashed on to seize the spoil;
" There at last we reached to redden
" Weapons in our foemen's blood;
" Mankind's God hath ruled it so;
" On the planks fell corses black."

When they had stripped the Dromond, they put fire into her and burnt her. And when that tall man whom they had made captive saw that, he was much stirred and changed colour, and could not hold himself still. But though they tried to make him speak, he said never a word, and made no manner of sign, nor did he pay any heed to them whether they promised him good or ill. But when the Dromond began to blaze, they saw as though blazing molten ore ran down into the sea. That moved the captive man much. They were quite sure then that they had looked for goods carelessly, and now the metal had melted in the heat of the fire, whether it had been gold or silver. Earl Rognvald and his men sailed thence south under Sarkland, and lay under a sea-burg, and made a seven nights' truce with the townsmen, and had dealings with them, and sold them the men whom they had taken. No man would buy the tall man. And after that the earl gave him leave to go away, and four men with him. He came down the next morning with a train of men, and told them that he was a prince of Sarkland, and had sailed thence with the Dromond and all the goods that were aboard her. He said too he thought that worst of all that they burnt the Dromond, and made such waste of that great wealth, that it was of no use to any one.

They strip and set fire to her.

The captive chief's behaviour.

The Dromond blazes, and molten gold and silver flows in waves out of her sides.

They go to a town in Barbary and sell their spoil.

Earl Rognvald gives the captive chief his liberty.

" But now I have great power over your affairs. Now " ye shall have the greatest good from me for having

His speech on parting.

A.D. 1152. " spared my life, and treated me with such honour as ye
" could; but I would be very willing that we saw each
" other never again. And so now live safe and sound
" and well." After that he rode up the country, but earl Rognvald sailed thence south to Crete, and they lay there in very foul weather. Then Armod sang a song when he kept watch at night on board the earl's ship.

Armod's song.

" On the keel-horse we keep watch,
" Where below the stiff ribs dashes
" Wave on wave; this weary work
" Have we here to win till morning;
" O'er my shoulder now I look
" Back on Crete, while milksop soft
" Sleeps to night with sleek-skinned maiden,
" Kind in her close-fitting smock."

Earl Rognvald lands at Acre with much pomp.

95. The earl and his men lay under Crete till they got a fair wind for Jewry-land, and came to Acreburg early on a Friday morning, and landed then with such great pomp and state as was seldom seen there. Thorbjorn the swarthy then made a song:

Thorbjorn the swarthy sings a song.

" In the Orkneys for a winter
" Was I serving with the chief;
" Feeder of the bird of battle
" First arose to strive in fight;
" Now the shield on Friday morning
" Here we bear with eager haste,
" With the earl in battle proven,
" In watery port of Acre town."

The earl loses many men at Acre by sickness.

The earl and his men stayed in Acreburg a while. There sickness came into their ranks, and many famous men breathed their last. There Thorbjorn the swarthy a liegeman breathed his last. Oddi the little sang:

Oddi the little's song on Thorbjorn's death.

" Barks of chieftains
" Thorbjorn bore,
" Swarthy of hue,
" By Thrasness swift;
" Under the best of skalds

A.D. 1152.

" Woodbear[1] trode
" Ati's acres
" To Acreburg.
" Then saw I him,
" The hero's friend,
" Sprinkled with mould
" In mother church;
" Now the soil stony,
" By sunbeam blest,
" Lies heavy o'er him
" In southern land."

Earl Rognvald in Jewry.

Earl Rognvald and his men then fared from Acreburg, and sought all the holiest places in the land of Jewry. They all fared to Jordan and bathed there. Earl Rognvald and Sigmund angle swam across the river, and went up on the bank there, and thither where was a thicket of brushwood, and there they twisted great knots. Then the earl sang:

Earl Rognvald and Sigmund angle swim across Jordan, twist knots in the brushwood on the bank, and sing songs. St. Lawrence's day, August 10th, 1152.

" For the men a coil I twisted
" Of the way-thong on the heath,
" Out on Jordan's further bank;
" Clever woman this will learn;
" But I trow that it will seem
" Long to go so far as this
" To all lazy stay-at-homes;
" On wide field the blood falls warm."

Then Sigmund sang:

" I will wreathe another knot
" For the sloth who sits at home;
" Sooth to say that we have set
" For his child a snare to day."

The earl sang:

" To the coward here we twine
" In the thicket close a knot,
" On this feast of holy Laurence;
" Tired to quarters good I came."

[1] A periphrasis for "ship."

A.D. 1152. After that they fared back to Jerusalem. And when they came close to the city, then earl Rognvald sang:

Earl Rognvald's song on nearing Jerusalem.

"At this bard's breast hangs a cross,
"Twixt his shoulder-blades a palm;
"Pride of heart shall be laid low;
"Soldiers scale the cliffs in order."

They come to Imbolar.

96. Earl Rognvald and his men fared that summer from the land of Jewry, and meant to go north to Micklegarth, and came about autumn to that town which is called Imbolar.[1] They stayed there a very long time in the town. They had that watchword in the town if men met one another walking where it was throng and narrow, and the one thought it needful that the other who met him should yield him the path, then he says thus: "Out of the way," "Out of the way." One evening as the earl and his men were coming out of the town, and Erling wryneck went out along the wharf to his ship, some of the townsmen met him and called out, "Out of the way," "Out of the way." Erling was very drunk, and made as though he heard them not, and when they ran against one another, Erling fell off the wharf, and down into the mud which was below, and his men ran down to pick him up, and had to strip off every stitch of his clothes, and wash him. Next morning when he and the earl met, and he was told what had happened, he smiled at it and sang:

The customs of the town.

Erling wryneck's misfortune.

The earl's song on him.

"'Mid-street' my friend would not call
"So he had in filth to fall

[1] *Imbolar*] It is very hard to identify this place. If Ægissness be the true reading at the end of this chapter, Imbolar may very well be the island of Imbros at the mouth of the Dardanelles, for Ægisness is said to be the extreme point of the Thracian Chersonese. On the other hand, if Engilsness be the true reading in the passage referred to, Imbolar must be sought for in the south-western part of Asia Minor, or even in Crete, for Engilsness, or Egilsness, is identified with Cape Malea or St. Angelo in the Peloponese. Munch inclines to the latter view, N. H. iii. 840, note. G. V. supposes, in the Icel. Dict., that Imbolum is a mistake of the Northmen for "ἔμπολις" as "miðhæfi" a little further on is a distortion of "μεταβῆθι "get down" or "out of the way."

A.D. 1152.

" Head and heels, and thus in that
" Great misfortune nearly followed;
" Then I trow the king's own cousin
" Little comely looked when rolling
" Midst the mud in Imbolar;
" To his breeks the blue clay clung."

These tidings happened a little while after there in the town, when they came out of the town very drunk that John limpleg's men missed him, but no man else. They sent at once to look for him on board the other ships that night, and he could not be found, but they could not look for him upon the land in the night. But next morning they rose up as soon as ever it was light, and found him a little way from the burg-wall, and he had breathed his last, and they found wounds on him. But it was never known who had given him his hurt. Then they bestowed burial on his body, and found him a grave at the church. After that they fared away thence. And nothing is told of their voyage before they come north to Engilsness [Cape St. Angelo]. There they lay some nights and waited for a wind which would seem fair to them to sail north along the sea to Micklegarth. They took great pains then with their sailing, and so sailed with great pomp just as they had heard that Sigurd Jewryfarer had done. And as they sailed north along the sea, earl Rognvald sang a song:

John limpleg is missing and found slain.

His burial.

Earl Rognvald sails to Constantinople with great pomp.

" Let us ride on Refil's steed [1]
" Out to Micklegarth with speed;
" From the field draw not the plough,
" Ear the main with dripping prow;
" Take we bounty of the king,
" Push we on while weapons ring,
" Redden maw of wolf with gore,
" Mighty monarch bow before."

His song.

97. When earl Rognvald and his men came to Micklegarth, they had a hearty welcome from the emperor

The emperor Manuel gives them

[1] A periphrasis for " ship."

A.D. 1153. and the Varangians. Menelaus was then emperor over Micklegarth, whom we call Manuel; he gave the earl much goods, and offered them bounty-money if they would stay there. They stayed there awhile that winter in very good cheer. There was Eindrid the young, and he had very great honour from the emperor. He had little to do with earl Rognvald and his men, and rather tried to set other men against them. Earl Rognvald set out on his voyage home that winter from Micklegarth, and fared first west to Bulgaria-land to Dyrrachburg.[1] Thence he sailed west across the sea to Poule.[2] There earl Rognvald and bishop William and Erling and all the nobler men of their band landed from their ships, and got them horses, and rode thence first to Rome, and so homewards on the way from Rome until they come to Denmark, and thence they fared north to Norway. There men were glad to see them, and this voyage was most famous, and they who had gone on it were thought to be men of much more worth after than before. While they had been on their travels Ogmund the gallant, Erling wryneck's brother had died; he was thought of most worth of those brothers while they were both alive. Erling threw in his lot at once with king Ingi, because he leant most to him of those brothers in all friendship, and they never parted so long as they both lived.

a hearty welcome.

They find Eindrid the young there. He sets men against them.

Earl Rognvald sails to Apulia, and returns to Norway overland.

Their fame in Norway.

But after king Ingi's fall Magnus was chosen to be king over that band, the son of Erling and Kristina, daughter of king Sigurd Jewryfarer; but Erling alone had then the whole rule over the land in Norway. Waldemar the Dane-king gave Erling the title of earl; he became the greatest man after that, and a mighty chief, as is written in his saga. Eindrid the young came from abroad some winters later than earl Rognvald and his men, and he threw in his lot then with king Eystein, for he would have nothing to do with Erling. But after the fall of king Eystein, these,

Erling's career afterwards.

[1] Durazzo. [2] Apulia.

Eindrid the young and Sigurd son of Havard the freeman of Reyrir, got together a band, and chose as king Hacon broadshoulders, son of king Sigurd Harold's son. They slew Gregory Dag's son and king Ingi. Those two, Eindrid and Hacon, fought with Erling wryneck under Sekk; there Hacon fell but Eindrid fled. Earl Erling let Eindrid the young be slain sometime after away east in the Bay. A.D. 1153. 1161. He causes Eindrid the young to be slain, 1162.

98. Earl Rognvald stayed a very long time in Hordaland that summer when he came into the land, and heard then many tidings out of the Orkneys. It was told him that there was great strife, and the chieftains had gone into two bands, but there were few who sat by so that they had no share in the strife. Earl Harold was on one side, but on the other earl Erlend and Sweyn Asleif's son. And when the earl heard that said, he sang this song: Earl Rognvald hears that there is strife in the Orkneys.

Earl Rognvald's song.

"Now the princes of the people
"Have gone back on many an oath;
"That is blasphemy 'gainst God;
"Men's ill redes now come to light;
"But this evil will not lessen
"In those who guile devise at home;
"So let us on lissom leg
"Step light so long as beard will wag."

The earl had no ships at his command. Then he looked to his kinsfolk and friends that they should get him some long-ships made that winter. They took that well upon them, and granted him in that matter just what he asked. The earl busked him that summer to fare west into the Orkneys to his realm, and he was very late boun, for he lingered much. He fared west on board that trading-ship which Thorhall Asgrim's son owned; he was an Icelander, and of great kindred, and had a house south at Bishopstongues. The earl had for all that a great train on board the ship and a noble band of companions. They made Scotland when the winter was far spent, and long lay off Scotland under Turfness. Earl Rognvald sails for the Orkneys in a trading-ship.

A.D. 1153. He arrives a little before Yule.

The earl came a little before Yule into the Orkney to his realm.

History of what happened in Orkney while earl Rognvald was away.

99. Now shall be told what tidings happened in the Orkneys while earl Rognvald was abroad on his travels.

That same summer that the earl had fared away from the land, came east from Norway king Eystein son of Harold Gilli; he had a great host. And when he came into the Orkneys he steered with his host for South Ronaldshay. Then he heard that earl Harold Maddad's son had fared over to Caithness with a twenty-benched ship, and had eighty men with him; he lay in Thurso.

King Eystein comes to the Orkneys and takes earl Harold captive. 1151.

But when king Eystein heard of him, he manned three cutters and fared west over the Pentland-firth, and so to Thurso. He came there so that the earl and his men were not ware of it before the king's men boarded their ship and made the earl captive. He was led before the king, and their dealings turned out so, that the earl ransomed himself with three marks of gold, but his realm he gave over into king Eystein's hands, so that he was to hold it of him ever after. Then the earl became king Eystein's man, and bound that with oaths. And after that king Eystein fared to Scotland, and harried there that summer. He harried far and wide too round England on that voyage, and he was thought to avenge king Harold Sigurd's son. After that king Eystein fared east into his realm to Norway, and very various stories were told of his doings. Earl Harold stayed behind in the Orkneys in his realm, and he was in good favour with most men. Earl Maddad his father was then dead, but his mother Margaret had come out into the Orkneys. She was a fair woman and very proud and haughty. At that time David the Scot-king died, and Malcolm his grandson[1] was taken to be king; he was a child in years when he took the realm.

The earl becomes the king's man.

King Eystein's viking-voyage.

Death of David the Scot-king.

Erlend son of earl Harold smooth-

100. Erlend, son of Harold smooth-tongue, was most of his time in Thurso, but sometimes he was in the Southern isles, or a-roving after earl Ottar was dead.

[1] *Grandson*] The Cd. reads "son," the Tr. "grandson" correctly.

He was the most promising man, and thoroughly trained and skilled in most things, bountiful of money, blithe and ready to listen to good advice, and of all men most beloved by his followers. He had a great train. Anakol was the name of a man, he was Erlend's fosterer, and had most weight in his counsels. Anakol was a viking and a man of good birth and great hardihood, a South-islander by kin; he was Erlend's counsellor.

A.D. 1151–2. tongue gathers force.

His councillor Anakol.

When Erlend heard that earl Rognvald was gone away from his realm abroad to Jerusalem, he went to see Malcolm, the Scot-king his kinsman, and begged him to give him the title of earl and Caithness as a lordship, as his father Harold had held it from king David, king Malcolm's grandfather. King Malcolm was then a child in years, but for that Erlend had there many noble kinsfolk who backed his cause, it came about that the Scot-king gave Erlend the title of earl, and granted him half Caithness with his kinsman Harold. Then Erlend fared to Caithness and met his friends there. After that he gathered force to himself and fared out into the Orkneys. There he bade them do homage to him, but earl Harold Maddad's son got a force together at once, when he heard of Erlend, and had many men on his side. Then men went between those kinsman, and tried to set them at one. Erlend asked for half the isles with Harold, but he will not give them up, and the end of it was that peace was fixed for that year. But the plan was that Erlend shall fare east into Norway to find king Eystein and ask for that half which earl Rognvald owned, and then Harold said he would give it up. Then Erlend fared east into Norway, but Anakol and some of his train were behind in the Orkneys. Gunni Olaf's son, Sweyn Asleif's son's brother, had got a child by Margaret earl Harold's mother, but the earl made him an outlaw. From that unfriendliness sprung up between Sweyn and earl Harold, and Sweyn sent Gunni south into the Lewes to his friend Ljotolf, with whom Sweyn had been before. Fogl was the name of Ljotolf's son; he was with earl Harold, and he and Sweyn had

Erlend obtains the title of earl from king Malcolm and the lordship of half Caithness.

He bids the Orkneyingers to do homage to him.

Earl Harold Maddad's son gathers force.

It is agreed that Erlend shall go to Norway to ask king Eystein for half the Orkneys. 1152.

Sweyn Asleif's son quarrels with earl Harold.

A.D. 1152. little to say to one another. When earl Erlend fared east to Norway, earl Harold fared over to Caithness, and sat that winter in Wick. Sweyn Asleif's son was then in Thraswick in Caithness, and had under his charge the farms of his stepsons. He had first to wife Ragnhild Ogmund's daughter; they were but a short while together. Olaf was their son. After that he had to wife Ingirid Thorkel's daughter. Andrew was their son. It was on Wednesday in Passion week that Sweyn had gone up into Lambaburg with some men. They saw where a ship of burden fared from the east off the Pentland firth, and Sweyn thought he knew that there must be earl Harold's men, whom he had sent after his scatts to Shetland. Sweyn bade his men go on board ship, and pull out to the ship of burden, and so they did. They took the ship of burden and all that was worth anything, but shoved earl Harold's men ashore, and they went east to Wick and told him. Earl Harold said little in answer, and says that he and Sweyn would take it by turns to have each other's goods, and he quartered his men about at different houses during Easter. Then the Caithness men said that the earl was on his visitations. But as soon as ever Easter was over, Sweyn fared away with the ship of burden and a rowing cutter to the Orkneys. And when they came to Scapa-neck, they took there a ship from Fogl Ljotolf's son; he was then come from the south out of the Lewes from his father, and meant to go to earl Harold. And in that trip they took about twelve ounces of gold from Sigurd cloven-foot, earl Harold's house-carle; that money had been brought into his house, but they were in Kirkwall who owned it. After that Sweyn fared over to the Ness and up into Scotland, and found Malcolm the Scot-king at Aberdeen. He was then nine winters old.[1] There Sweyn was a month in very good cheer, and the Scot-king bade

He seizes earl Harold's ship, and commits other robberies.

Sewyn goes to Aberdeen to see king Malcolm.

[1] *nine winters old*] King Malcolm was born in 1140, and was therefore about twelve years old at this time. The Chron. de Melrose says that he was twelve years old at his accession. Comp. Munch, N. H. iii. 848, note, who places these events in the year 1154.

him take all those rights and easements in Caithness which he had owned ere he fell out with earl Harold. Sweyn thanked the king. After that Sweyn busked him to go away, and he and the Scot-king parted with great love. Then Sweyn fared to his ships, and sailed from the south to the Orkneys. Anakol was then in Deerness when Sweyn and his men sailed from the south, and they saw his sails off the east side of the Mull. They sent to Sweyn and his men Gauti the Master of Skeggbjornsstead, and Anakol begged that Sweyn would come to terms with Fogl about taking the ship, for there was kinship between them, and Fogl was then with Anakol. But when Gauti found Sweyn and his men, and told him Anakol's words, then Sweyn bade them sail to Sanday and meet him there, for he said he must sail thither at once. There was a very numerous meeting there to make matters up, and the atonement was only brought about slowly. But the end of it was that Sweyn alone was to make what award he chose. After that Anakol threw in his force with Sweyn, and they bound themselves to try to bring about an atonement between him and earl Erlend when he came from the east, for there was feud between them for the burning of Frakok. Sweyn and Anakol fared to Stronsay, and lay by Hofsness some nights. Thorfinn Brusi's son then dwelt in Stronsay; he had then to wife Ingigerd Sweyn's sister, whom Thorbjorn clerk had left to herself. When Sweyn and Anakol lay by Hofsness, earl Erlend sailed up from off the main, and Anakol and Thorfinn Brusi's son fared out at once to meet him, and tried to bring about an atonement between him and Sweyn, and the earl took the offer of atonement heavily, and said Sweyn had always gone against the stream towards his kinsfolk and himself, but not kept to what he [Sweyn] and earl Ottar had settled as to lending him [Erlend] strength to get the realm for himself.[1] Then Sweyn offered to the earl his following and counsel, and they

A.D. 1152.

King Malcolm confirms him in his rights in Caithness.

Anakol sends a message to Sweyn on his return,

and tries to bring about an atonement between earl Erlend and him.

Earl Erlend at last agrees to be friends with Sweyn.

[1] *himself*] Comp. ch. 78.

A.D. 1152. were trying to bring the atonement about all day, but it was not brought about before they both of them, Anakol and Thorfinn, gave out that they would follow Sweyn out of the islands if the earl would not be atoned with him. Earl Erlend brings back from the east that message from king Eystein, that he should have that lot of the Orkneys which earl Harold had owned before. Sweyn gave that counsel, when he and the earl were set at one, that they should fare at once to find earl Harold ere he heard that of others, and bid him give up the realm to him. It was done as Sweyn said. They met earl Harold off Kjarrekstead,[1] and he lay on shipboard. It was on Michaelmas morning that earl Harold and his men saw that long-ships were faring up to them, and they doubted that there would be strife. They ran from their ships and into the castle that was then there. Arni Hrafn's son was the name of a man who ran from earl Harold's ship and to Kirkwall; he was so scared that he did not know that he had his shield at his back before he stuck fast in the church-door. Thorgeirr was the name of a man who was there inside and saw him Arni's messmates thought that he was lost, and looked for him two days. Earl Erlend and Sweyn ran from their ships to the castle after earl Harold and his men, and attacked them all that day both with fire and weapons. They made a very stout defence, and the darkness of night parted them. There many men were wounded on either side, but earl Harold and his men had surely been worn out and forced to give themselves up to them if the onslaught had lasted longer. But next morning freemen came up, friends of both sides, and tried to bring about an atonement between them, and Sweyn and earl Erlend were loath to make matters up. But still it came about that they were set at one

Erlend says that king Eystein has given him earl Harold's share of the isles.

Sweyn advises Erlend to fall on earl Harold at once. Sept. 29th.

Earl Harold flees from their attack into a castle. Fright of his man Arni.

Sweyn and Erlend besiege the castle for a day, but the freemen interfere, and Harold is forced to give up his share of the isles. Sept. 30th, 1152.

[1] *Kjarrekstead*] Munch N. H. iii., 849, note, has well pointed out that Knarrarstöðum, the present Knarstane, is probably the right reading here. Kjarrekstödum, answering to the present Cairston or Stromness, would be too far off for Arni's flight, while Knarstane is within easy reach of Kirkwall.

on these terms, that earl Harold swore oaths that Erlend should have his (Harold's), share of the isles, and that he would never make any claim against him for that realm. These oaths were taken before many of the best men then in the isles as witnesses, and after that earl Harold fared over to the Ness, and so on up to Scotland to his kinsfolk, then few Orkneyingers fared with him. Earl Erlend and Sweyn and his companions summoned a Thing of the freemen in Kirkwall, and the freemen came to it from all the isles. Earl Erlend pleaded his cause, and so too did many others of his friends and kinsfolk. Then the earl said that king Eystein had given him that realm in the Orkneys which earl Harold had before had in his keeping; then he begged the freemen to do him homage. He had there with him Eystein's letters, which proved that he spoke sooth. So it came about that the freemen yielded obedience to earl Erlend, and then he took under him all the Orkneys, and made himself chief over them. But it was so settled between earl Erlend and the freemen, that he should not withhold from earl Rognvald that half of the realm which he owned, if it were fated that he should come back. But if earl Rognvald claimed more than half, then the freemen should hold that against him along with earl Erlend. Sweyn Asleif's son was ever with earl Erlend, and bade him be wary, and not trust too well earl Harold or the Scots. They lay most part of the winter on shipboard, and kept spies out away from them. But when Yule drew on, and the weather began to grow hard, then Sweyn fared home to Gairsay to his house, but bade the earl be not the less wary though they were parted, and so the earl did, for he lay long on shipboard, and gathered stores together in no one place for his Yule feast.

A.D. 1152.

Earl Erlend accepted as earl by the Orkneyingers on condition that earl Rognvald should have his half of the isles if he came back.

Sweyn Asleif's son earl Erlend's right hand.

Earl Erlend's watchfulness.

101. It happened on the tenth day of Yule that Sweyn sat in Gairsay and drank with his house-carles; he began to speak and rubbed his nose: "It is my "meaning that now earl Harold is on his voyage to "the isles." His house-carles say that that were un-

Sweyn Asleif's son's foreboding.

A.D. 1152–3. likely for the storms' sake that then lay over them. He said he knew that they would think so. "And now," says he, "I will not send the earl news of this for my "foreboding all alone, but I doubt though that there is "worse counsel in that." So that talk fell to the ground, and they drank on as before. Earl Harold began his voyage out to the Orkneys at Yule. He had four ships and one hundred men; he lay two nights off Grimsay. They landed at Hamnavoe in Hrossey; thence they went the thirteenth day of Yule to Firth. They were in Orkahow while a snow-storm drove over them, and there two men of their band lost their wits and that was a great hindrance to their journey. It was in the night that they came to Firth; it happened then that earl Erlend had gone on board his ship, but he had drunk that day up at the house. Earl Harold and his men slew two men there, and the name of one of them was Kettle;[1] but they took prisoners four men: Arnfinn Anakol's brother, Ljot was the name of the second, and two others. Earl Harold fared back to Thurso, and Thorbjorn clerk and his men. But those brothers Benedict and Eric fared to Lambaburg, and had Arnfinn along with them. At once that very night, as soon as earl Erlend was ware of the strife, then he sent men to Gairsay to tell Sweyn, and he [Sweyn] made them run down his ships to the sea the day after, and fared to find earl Erlend, as he had sent word, and they were then on shipboard most of the winter. Benedict and his brother sent that message, that Arnfinn would only be set loose on those terms, if earl Erlend and his men would let them have that ship which they had taken off Kjarrekstead. The earl was rather eager that the ship should be given up; but Anakol set his face against it, and said that Arnfinn should get away not a whit the less that winter, though that were not granted. It was on the midweek-day (Wednesday) next before the Fast that they, Anakol and Thorstein Ragna's son, fared

1153. Earl Harold's expedition to attack earl Erlend.

Jan. 6th.

The expedition fails.

Earl Harold takes Anakol's brother prisoner.

Anakol refuses to treat for his ransom.

[1] Fl. adds, "but the other is not named."

over to the Ness with twenty men in a cutter, and came off the coast in the night. They drew the cutter into a hidden cove under a certain burg.[1] They go up on shore, and hide themselves n thickets a short way from the house in Thraswick, but they dressed up the ship so, that it looked just as if men lay in every seat. Men had come to the ship in the morning, and had no doubt as to what she was. Anakol and his men saw men row in a ship away from the burg and land at the oyce.[2] Then they saw a man too ride out from the burg, and another walking, and knew it was Eric. Then Anakol and his men parted their force, and ten of them went to the sea, down the river, and watched that no one should come to the ship, but the other ten went to the house. Eric came to the homestead a little before them, and went up to the hall, there he heard the sound of armed men, and then ran into the hall, and out at the other door, and wanted to go to the ship, but there the men were in his way, and he got taken captive there, and was carried out into the isles to earl Erlend. Then men were sent to earl Harold, and it was told him that Eric would not be set free till Arnfinn and his companions came safe and sound to earl Erlend, and that was done as he was told. Next spring earl Harold busked him from Caithness, and fared north to Shetland; he meant to take the life of Erlend the young, for he had asked the hand of Margaret the earl's mother, but she had refused. After that he got himself a train of followers, and took her away from the Orkneys, and bore her north to Shetland, and sat himself down in Moussaburg; there he had laid in great stores. But when earl Harold came to Shetland, he sat down round the burg and forbade all supplies, but it is an unhandy place to get at by storm. Then men came up and tried to bring about an atonement between them. Erlend asked that the earl should give him the woman in mar-

A.D. 1153.

His expedition to release his brother.

Anakol seizes Eric Thorbjorn clerk's brother. Feb. 2nd.

Anakol's stratagem.

Eric is exchanged for earl Harold's prisoners.

Earl Harold goes to Shetland to take the life of Erlend the young, who had run away with the earl's mother Margaret to Moussaburg.

[1] Fl. reads, "some rocks."

[2] *i.e.*, River's mouth. *Oyce* is the modern Orkney word for this.

A.D. 1153. They treat for an atonement and become friends.

riage, but offered himself to strengthen the earl's hands, and said that it was worth more to him to get back his realm, but said too that the likeliest way to do that was to make himself as many friends as he could. That prayer many backed with Erlend, and this was the end of the matter, that they were set at one, and Erlend got Margaret, and after that made ready to follow the earl, and they fared that summer east to Norway. And when that was heard in the Orkneys, then earl Erlend and his men laid their plans, and Sweyn was eager that they should fare a sea-roving, and so get money. And so they did, and fared south to Broadfirth, and harried off the east of Scotland. They fared south to Berwick.[1]

Earl Harold and Erlend go to Norway.

Sweyn and earl Erlend go on a viking voyage.

Canute the wealthy was the name of a man, he was a chapman, and sat very often in Berwick. Sweyn and his companions took a ship large and good, which Canute owned, and much goods aboard her; there too his wife was on board. After that they fared south under Blyholm. Canute was then in Berwick when he heard of the robbery; he made a bargain with the men of Berwick for a hundred marks of silver, that they go out to get back the goods. They were most of them chapmen who went out to look for the goods. They fared in fourteen ships to look for them. Now when Erlend and Sweyn lay under Blyholm, Sweyn spoke to them, and told them that men should lie with no awning over their ships; said he had got it into his head that the men of Berwick would come in a great company to look them up at night. But there was a sharp wind on, and men gave no heed to what he said, and all men lay under their awnings, save that on Sweyn's ship there was no awning aft of the mast. Sweyn sat up on the poop in a hairy cloak on a chest and said he was so boun to spend the night. Einar skew was the name of a man on board Sweyn's ship; he spoke and said that far too many stories had

Canute of North Berwick. His expedition to recover his goods.

Sweyn's good counsel.

Sweyn keeps watch.

[1] This Berwick appears from the context not to be Berwick-upon-Tweed, but North Berwick, at the mouth of the Firth of Forth.

been told of Sweyn's bravery; "he is called a better A.D. 1153.
" man than other men, but now he dares not throw Einar skew calls
" an awning over his ship." Sweyn made as though Sweyn's bravery in question.
he heard not. There were watchmen upon the holm; Sweyn heard how they could not agree as to what they saw. He went up to them and asked about what they strove. They said they could not tell what they saw. Sweyn was the sharpest-sighted of all men, and when he Sweyn discovers the advance of Canute's ships.
looked steadfastly at the spot, he saw that there were fourteen ships coming on them from the north all together. He went on board his ship and bade the watchmen go on board the ships and tell what had happened. Sweyn bade his men wake up and throw off their awnings. After that a great cry arose, and most men shouted out to Sweyn, and asked what counsel should be taken; he bade men be still, but said his counsel was to lay their ships between the holm and the land, "and try if they will so His counsel to his companions.
" sail round away from us; but if that may not be, then
" let us rów against them as hard as we can." But other counsellors spoke against that, and said the only plan They refuse to take his counsel and fly.
was to sail away, and so it was done. Then Sweyn spoke: "If ye will sail away, then beat out to sea." Sweyn and Anakol the last "boun."
Sweyn was last boun. Anakol waited for him. But when Sweyn's ship went faster, then he made them slacken sail, and waited for Anakol, and would not that he should be left behind with a single ship. Then Einar skew said, as Sweyn and his men sailed with all sail: " Sweyn," says he, "is it not so that our ship stands
" still?" Sweyn says: "I do not think that," says he, Sweyn's reproach to Einar skew.
" but I counsel thee that thou speakest no more against
" my bravery, if thou canst not tell for fear's sake
" whether the ship walks under thee or not, for this is
" the fastest of all ships under sail." The men of Ber- The men from North Berwick avoid a contest.
wick sailed south away from them, but Sweyn and his fleet then turned in under the mainland. And when they came under the Isle of May, then Sweyn sent men Sweyn turns up the firth and lies under the
to Edinburgh to tell the Scot-king of the spoil they had taken, but ere they came to the burg, twelve men rode to meet them, and they had bags full of silver at their

A.D. 1153. cruppers. And when they met, the Scottish men asked after Sweyn Asleif's son; they said where he was, and asked what they wanted of him. The Scots said that they had been told that Sweyn was taken prisoner, and the Scot-king had sent them to set him free with that money which they carried with them. Sweyn's men told them the news in return, and fared to find the Scot-king, and told him their errand. The king spoke lightly of the loss of Canute's money, and sent Sweyn a costly shield and other good gifts more. Earl Erlend and Sweyn fared that autumn to the Orkneys and came back rather late.

Isle of May. His message to the Scot-king.

The king's fondness for Sweyn.

That summer earl Harold fared to Norway, as was before told. Then too earl Rognvald came back from abroad from Micklegarth into Norway, and Erling wry-neck with him, as was before written. And earl Rognvald came into the Orkneys a little before Yule.

Earl Rognvald returns to his realm, and he and earl Erlend make friends. Dec. 23rd, 1153.

102. Then men at once came between earl Rognvald and earl Erlend, and tried to set them at one. Then men brought forward that understanding which had passed between the freemen and earl Erlend, that he should not withhold his share of the isles from earl Rognvald. Then things came to a fixed meeting between those earls in Kirkwall, and at that meeting they made matters up and bound that by oaths. That was two nights before Yule, and the terms of the settlement were that each of them should have half the isles, and both should guard them against earl Harold or any others if they laid claim to them. Earl Rognvald had then no force of ships before the summer after, when his ships came from the east out of Norway. That winter all stood quiet, but in the spring after the earls laid their plans against earl Harold if he should come from the east, and earl Erlend and Sweyn Asleif's son fared to Shetland, and were to lie in wait for him there if he showed himself. Earl Rognvald fared over to Thurso, for they thought that Harold might make thither when he came from the east, for he had many kinsfolk and friends there. Earl Erlend and Sweyn were in Shetland

The two earls prepare to receive Harold when he comes from Norway.

1154. Sweyn and earl Erlend go to Shetland to way-lay him.

that summer, and stopped all ships so that no one might go to Norway. Earl Harold fared that summer from the east out of Norway, and had seven ships; he made the Orkneys, but three of his ships were driven into Shetland by stress of weather, and Erlend and Sweyn took them. When earl Harold came into the Orkneys, there he heard those tidings, that earl Rognvald and earl Erlend were atoned, and that each of them was to have half the isles. Then earl Harold thought he saw that as for his choice, nothing was meant for him. Then he took that counsel to fare over to the Ness at once to find earl Rognvald ere earl Erlend and Sweyn came back from Shetland. Earl Erlend and Sweyn were then in Shetland, when they heard that earl Harold was come into the Orkneys with five ships; they held on south at once into the isles with five ships, and got caught in Dynrace,[1] in dangerous tides and a storm of wind, and there they parted company. Then Sweyn bore up for the Fair isle in two ships, and they thought the earl lost. Thence they held on their course south under Sanday, and there earl Erlend lay before them with three ships, and that was a very joyful meeting. Thence they fared to Hrossey, and heard there that earl Harold had fared over to the Ness. But that is to be said of earl Harold's doings, that he came to Thurso and had six ships. Earl Rognvald was then up the country in Sutherland, and sat there at a wedding, at which he gave away his daughter Ingirid to Eric staybrails. News came to him at once that earl Harold was come into Thurso. Earl Rognvald rode down with a great company from the bridal to Thurso. Eric staybrails was Harold's kinsman, and he did all he could to set them at one again, and many others backed that with him, and said that it was as clear as day to them that they ought not to let themselves be parted for the sake of that kinship and those foster-ties and that fellowship which had been between them. So it came about that a meeting was brought to pass between them and peace given, and they

A.D. 1154.

Earl Harold sails straight for the Orkneys, and gives them the slip.

Sweyn and Erlend's danger in Dynrace.

Earl Harold in Thurso.

Earl Rognvald comes down from Sutherland when he hears of earl Harold's arrival.

Earl Rognvald meets earl

[1] *Dynrace*] Sumburg Roost.

A.D. 1154. Harold at Thurso.

were to meet in a castle at Thurso, and they two talk alone, but each of them was to have as many men as the other hard by the castle. They talked long, and things went well with them. They had not met before since earl Rognvald came into the land. And when the day was far spent, earl Rognvald was told that earl Harold's people were flocking thither with arms. Earl Harold said that no harm would come of that. Next after that they heard great blows struck outside, and then they ran out. There was come Thorbjorn clerk with a great train of men, and he began straightway to wound and maim earl Rognvald's men when they met. The earls called out that they should not fight. Then men ran up out of the town and parted them. There fell thirteen of earl Rognvald's house-carles, but he himself was wounded in the face. After that their friends did their best to set them at one again, and so it came about that they were atoned and bound anew their fellowship with oaths. This was four nights before Michaelmas. Then too that counsel was taken that they should fare at once that night out into the Orkneys against earl Erlend and Sweyn. They held on with thirteen ships west on the Pentland firth, and ran across to Rognvaldsey,[1] and made the land in Vidvoe, and there went on shore. Earl Erlend and his men lay on shipboard in Bardswick, and thence they saw a great company in Rognvaldsey, and sent out spies thither, and then they had sure news that the earls had been set at one. It was also told them that they would not let them have the power either of strand-slaughter or any other stores of food, and must so mean then and there to cut off their food in the isles. Then earl Erlend and his men went to talk, and he sought counsel of his men. But they all agreed with one voice that Sweyn should see to it what counsel should be taken. But Sweyn gave utterance to this decision, that they should at once that very night sail over to the Ness, and said that they had no strength to

Thorbjorn clerk's brawl.

Sept. 25, 1154. The earls make friends, and sail against earl Erlend.

Earl Erlend and Sweyn leave the Orkneys, and go over to Caithness. Sept. 28th.

Sweyn's counsel.

[1] South Ronaldshay.

strive with both of them there in the isles. He made A.D. 1154.
that show before the people at large, that they would They give out that they mean to go to the Southern isles.
fare to the Southern isles, and be there that winter. That was Michaelmas eve when they sailed on the firth, but as soon as ever they came to Caithness, they hastened up into the country, and drove down to the shore great droves of cattle to slaughter and slaughtered them, and put them on board their ships. Great storms were on and foul weather, and the firth was always impassable. But as soon as ever there was a fair wind, Sweyn sent men in a boat to the other side from the Ness to say that earl Erlend had slaughtered cattle on the shore in Caithness, and that they lay boun to sail to the Southern isles as soon as ever they got a breeze. And when these tidings came to earl Rognvald's ears, Earl Rognvald's doubts.
he brought them before a meeting of householders, and spoke to his people. He bade his men be wary and Earl Rognvald bids his men to be wary.
keep good watch, and lie every night on board their ships, "for there is not an hour of the day or night
" that I do not look for Sweyn here in the Orkneys,
" and so much the rather that he made so many words
" about how he would fare out of the land."

At the beginning of winter Sweyn and his com- Sweyn and earl Erlend set out for the Southern isles.
panions fared out of Thurso, and turned west round the coast of Scotland. They had seven ships, and all well manned and trimmed and big. They began their passage by the help of oars alone. But when they were come on their course away from the Ness, earl Rognvald's spies fared out into the isles, and told him these tidings. The earls then rowed their ships to Scapaneck, and earl Rognvald would that they should lie on board their ships a while. Now when Sweyn and his Sweyn makes them put about for the Orkneys.
companions had got about as far west as Staur, Sweyn spoke and said that they would not plague themselves any longer by rowing, and bade them put their ships about and hoist their sails. This plan the men thought rather foolish, but still it was done as Sweyn would. But when they had sailed about, the war-snakes ran

A.D. 1154. swiftly before the wind.[1] And nothing is told of their voyage before they come to Vogland[2] in the Orkneys. There they heard that the earls lay at Scapa-neck with fourteen ships off Knarstead. There was then Erlend the young and Eric staybrails, and many other noble men.

103. Thorbjorn clerk had gone east to Paplay at Firth to the house of Hacon churl, his father-in-law. Thorbjorn then had his daughter Ingigerd to wife. It was four nights before Simon's mass that Sweyn uttered that decision, that he would row up and make an onslaught on the earls at night. But that seemed rather foolhardy considering the difference of force which there was. Still Sweyn would have his way, and so it was, for the earl too was rather eager for it.

Sweyn persuades earl Erlend to attack the foe, Oct. 24th.

Earl Rognvald leaves his fleet for a night and goes to Orfir.

At even a storm of soft melting sleet set in; then earl Rognvald went away from his ship and meant to go to Orfir to his house; he knew no cause for fear; he was with six men. They came to Knarstead in the sleet storm. There dwelt Botolf bungle, a man from Iceland and a good skald. He asked earl Rognvald to be there with him the night over, and tried to talk him over with many words. They went in, and their clothes were pulled off them; they lay down to sleep, but Botolf was to keep watch. That self-same night earl Erlend and his men pulled up against earl Harold and his men, and came upon them unawares, so that they knew nothing of their coming before they heard the war-cry. Then they ran to their arms, and defended themselves like men. There was great slaughter, and the onslaught ended so that earl Harold fled away up on shore, when only five men were left upstanding on board the ship. There fell Bjarni Erlend the young's brother, a man of rank and worth, and a hundred men with him, but a whole crowd were wounded. All men

Botolf bungle gives him a night's lodging.

On that night Sweyn and earl Erlend attack, and take all the earl's ships.

[1] Fl. reads, "the war-snakes "began to walk swiftly for there was "a good breeze."

[1] *Vogland*] Walls in Hoy in the Orkneys.

ran from their ships and fled up on the land. Few fell of earl Erlend's men, but the earl took there fourteen ships that the earls owned, and all the goods that were on board them. When the most of the work was done, they heard that earl Rognvald had gone away from his ship that evening, and first up to Knarstead, and thither they fared. Botolf the master was outside before the door when they came there, and he gave them a hearty greeting. They asked whether earl Rognvald were there by chance. Botolf said he had been there that night. But they behaved wildly, and asked where he then was, and said he must know. Botolf stretched out his hand up and round about the yard, and sang a song: A.D. 1154.

They search for earl Rognvald.

Botolf bungle sends them away, and sings a song.

"After fowls the chieftain fares;
"Soldiers shoot their weapons well;
"Yonder heath-hen 'neath the hill
"May have hope of blow on neck;
"There the cross-bow crushes heath-poults
"Wondrously when warriors meet,
"Warrior stems that wound the snake;[1]
"The king defends his land with sword."

The earl's men ran headlong out of the "town,"[2] and he thought he had the best of it who ran fastest and first got power over the earl. But Botolf went in-doors and woke up the earl, and tells him those tidings that had happened in the night, and also what the earl's men were after. Then they jumped up and clothed themselves, and fared away at once, and to Orfir to the earl's house, and when they came there, earl Harold was there before them in hiding. Then they fared at once over to the Ness each in his boat, the one with three men and the other with four men. All their men fared over to the Ness as they got passages. Earl Erlend and Sweyn took all the earl's ships and very much goods. Sweyn Asleif's son made them hand over to him as his

Botolf tells earl Rognvald the tidings.

Earl Rognvald finds earl Harold at Orfir, and they both fly over to the Ness.

[1] A periphrasis for "men."

[2] *i.e.* "homefield."

A.D. 1154. share all earl Rognvald's treasures that were taken on board his ship, and he sent them to earl Rognvald over to the Ness. Sweyn was very eager that earl Erlend and his men should station their ships out in Vogaland, and that they should lie in that part of the Firth [1] where they could see any sailing of ships as soon as ever they put out from the Ness. He thought it good thence to lie in wait for attacks, if there were any chance of a passage. But earl Erlend made up his mind, for the sake of the egging on of his levies, that they should fare north to Damsay, and there they drank by day in a great hall, but lashed their ships together every evening, and slept in them by night. And so it went up to the Yule fast. It was five nights before Yule, that Sweyn Asleif son fared east to Sandwick to Sigrid his kinswoman; he was to make up a quarrel between her and her neighbour, whose name was Bjorn. But ere he fared away, he spoke to earl Erlend that he should sleep on shipboard by night, and be then not less wary though he [Sweyn] were not with him. Sweyn was one night at the house of his kinswoman Sigrid.

Sweyn's behaviour to earl Rognvald.

Earl Erlend stations his fleet at Damsay against Sweyn's advice.

Dec. 20th. Sweyn leaves him for one night.

104. Gisl was the name of a man; he was Sweyn's tenant and dear friend. He made a prayer to Sweyn that he should come as a guest to his house, and see how matters stood with him. He had made them brew liquor, and wanted to tap it for Sweyn and his men. When they came at even to Gil's [2] house, it was told them that earl Erlend had not gone to the ships the evening before. As soon as ever Sweyn heard this, he sent Margad Grim's son and two other men to the earl, and bade him take heed to his counsel, though he had not done so the night before; "but," says he, "methinks it "is to be dreaded that I shall need to take counsel for "this earl but a short while longer." Margad and his companions fared to find earl Erlend, and told him Sweyn's words. The earl's men said he [Sweyn] had

Sweyn hears of earl Erlend's unwariness, and sends him a message.

Sweyn's foreboding.

[1] *i.e.* the Pentland Firth.

[2] Thus, by transposition, for "Gisl's."

wondrous ways; they said that one while he thought nothing too dangerous, but sometimes he was so afraid that he scarce knew how to keep himself or others safe. They said that they would sleep in peace on land, and not fare to the ships. The earl said it should be so as Sweyn had laid it down; and the end of it was, that the earl went on board his own ship with four-and-twenty men, but all the others lay up at the house. Margad and those who were on board Sweyn's ship lay in another bay a short way off thence.

A.D. 1154. Earl Erlend's men refuse to listen to Sweyn's counsel.

Earl Erlend sleeps on board the ships, but is dead drunk.

This very same night earl Rognvald and earl Harold came unawares upon earl Erlend, so that those watchmen who watched on the isle and on the ship were none of them aware of it before they boarded the ship. Orm was the name of a man, and Ufi was another; they were in the forehold on board earl Erlend's ship. Ufi jumped up, and would wake the earl, and could not get him awakened, so dead drunk was he. Ufi caught up the earl in his arms, and leapt overboard with him, and into the after-boat which floated by the ship's side; but Orm leapt over on the other side, and he got safe to land. But the earl lost his life, and most of the other men who were in the ships.[1] The men on board Sweyn's ship wakened at the war-cry, and cut the cable asunder, and pulled out off the ness, but the full moon gave a strong light, and then they saw that the earls were pulling away. Then they thought they could tell that they must have settled their business with earl Erlend. Sweyn's house-carles then rowed away, and fared first to Rendale, but sent a man to Sweyn to tell him such things as they had then seen and heard. Earl Harold was for giving peace to earl Erlend's men, but earl Rognvald would wait first to see whether his body were found, or whether he had got away. Earl Erlend's body was found two nights before Yule; the shaft of a spear was seen standing up out of the seaweed, and when they got to it, that spear stood right through him. His

Earls Rognvald and Harold attack him, and earl Erlend is slain. Dec. 21st, 1154.

Behaviour of Sweyn's men.

Earl Erlend's body found. Dec. 23rd.

[1] Fl. "ship."

A.D. 1154. body was borne to the church, but then peace was given to the earl's men, and so too to four of Sweyn's house-carles who were taken. John was the name of a man who was called wing; he was a sister's son of John wing, of whom it was spoken before, he had been with Hacon churl, and had got his sister with child, and then ran away a-sea-roving with Anakol, but now he was with earl Erlend, and yet he had not been at the battle. Earl Erlend's men made their way to Kirkwall, and took shelter in Magnus' church. The earls also fared thither, and then a meeting for a settlement was fixed in the church. Then John could not get an atonement with the earls before he had given his word to keep his wedding with the woman. There all men took oaths to the earls, and they settled that matter rather easily. John wing bound himself over into earl Harold's hand, and became his steward.

The earls give his followers peace.

John wing the younger.

Earl Erlend's men take sanctuary in St. Magnus' church.

John wing and the rest of earl Erlend's followers atoned with the earls.

105. When Sweyn Asleif's son heard of the fall of earl Erlend, he fared to Rendale, and met his house-carles there.[1] They were able to tell him plainly of the tidings that had happened in Damsay. After that Sweyn and his men fared to Rowsay, and came there at the flood-tide; they took all the tackling out of the ship, and laid her up; they shared the men about among the houses, and kept spies out between them and the earls and others of the great men to know what each were doing. Sweyn Asleif's son went there up on the fell, and five men with him, and so down the other side to the sea shore, and stole right up to a homestead thereabouts in the darkness. They heard a great chattering inside. There were that father and son, Thorfinn and Ogmund, and Erlend their brother-in-law. Erlend, he was boasting about that to that father and son, that he had given earl Erlend his death-blow, but they all thought they had fought very well. And when Sweyn heard that, he springs inside into the house at them, and his

Sweyn meets his men at Rendale.

He goes to Rowsay, and lays his ship up.

He slays Erlend, who boasted that he had slain earl Erlend.

[1] Fl. reads, "After the fall of earl Erlend, Sweyn Asleif's son fared to Rendale and found there Margad, and his house-carles."

companions after him. Sweyn was quickest, and he smote Erlend at once his death-blow; but they took Thorfinn prisoner, and had him off along with them, but Ogmund was slightly wounded. Sweyn and his men fared to Thingwall; there dwelt then Helgi Sweyn's father's brother, and they were there at the beginning of Yule in hiding. Earl Rognvald fared to Damsay at Yule, but earl Harold stayed behind at Kirkwall. Earl Rognvald sent men to Thingwall to Helgi, and bade him tell his kinsman Sweyn if he knew anything as to where he was, that the earl wanted to bid him to stay with him at Yule, and said he was willing to have a hand in setting him and earl Harold at one again. And when these words came to Sweyn, he fared to meet earl Rognvald with five men, and was with him the latter part of Yule.[1] But after Yule a meeting to make friends was fixed between Sweyn and the earls; there all those quarrels were to be put an end to which had not been already made up. And when they met, earl Rognvald did his best to make Sweyn and earl Harold friends, but most men there were very hard in their counsel against him, who were not already either kinsfolk or friends of Sweyn; but those men said that trouble would always arise from Sweyn if he were not made away with out of the isles. But that settlement was made, that Sweyn should pay a mark of gold to each of the earls, and lose half his lands and his good long-ship. Sweyn answers when he hears the award: "This atonement will be "best kept if I am not treated with dishonour." Earl Rognvald would not take the fine from Sweyn. He says he will in no wise disgrace him, he says, too, he thinks there is much more gain to be got from his friendship than from his goods. Earl Harold fared after the atonement to Gairsay to Sweyn's house, and dealt there rather wastefully with his corn and other gear that he had. But when Sweyn heard that he brought it before earl Rognvald, and called it a breach of the

A.D. 1154-5.

Sweyn goes to Thingwall.

Earl Rognvald sends for Sweyn and sets him and earl Harold at one again.

The award against Sweyn

Earl Harold wastes Sweyn's goods.

Sweyn's anger.

[1] Fl. adds, "in good cheer."

A.D. 1155. atonement, and said he would fare home and see after his stores. Earl Rognvald said; "Be with me, Sweyn "and I will send word to the earl, and again bring "him to speak about your affairs; but I will not that "thou shouldest think to strive against earl Harold, "for he will be too much of a man for thee in strife, "though thou art a mighty man in thyself, and a bold "brisk man." But Sweyn would not let himself be hindered, and fared with nine men in a cutter to Gairsay, and came there late at even. They saw fire in the bake-house;[1] Sweyn fared thither to it. He wished that they should take the fire and lay it to the hall, and burn the homestead and the earl inside it. Sweyn Blakari's son was the name of a man; he was the man of most weight of all those that were there with Sweyn; he set his face most against this, and said might be the earl were not in the house. But even though he were there, he says that they would not let his wife or his daughters come out; but says that it would never do to burn them inside the house. Then Sweyn and his men went to the doorway, and so in towards the hall-door; then those men sprang up who were in the hall, and shut to the door. Then Sweyn and his men became aware that the earl was not in the homestead. But those who were inside gave up their defence, and handed over their weapons to Sweyn and his men, and came out all unarmed, and Sweyn gave peace to all the earl's house-carles. Sweyn broached all his drink, and had away with him his wife and daughters. He asked Ingirid his wife where Harold was, but she would not tell him: "Hold thy peace then and point "it out to us." She would not do that either. She was the earl's kinswoman. Sweyn gave up some of their arms when they came on shipboard. There was an end of the atonement between Sweyn and the earl when this news was heard. Earl Harold had gone to a little

In spite of earl Rognvald's advice, Sweyn goes to Gairsay.

Sweyn wishes to burn the house over earl Harold's head.

He seizes and disarms earl Harold's men.

The faithfulness of Sweyn's wife to her kinsman Harold.

[1] Fl reads, "they fared to the back of the house, Sweyn wished that "they should light a fire."

isle to hunt hares. Sweyn held on his course to Hellis isle,[1] that is a craggy isle towards the sea, and there is a great cave in the rock, and the sea came right up into the mouth of the cave at the flood-tide. When earl Harold's house-carles got their weapons from Sweyn and his men, they fared straightway to find earl Harold, and told him of their dealings with Sweyn. The earl made them launch his ship at once, and egged on his men to row after them, "and let us now bring matters to the "sword's point." Then they fell to rowing after them, and each saw the other and knew one another. And when Sweyn sees that the earl and his men were drawing up to them, Sweyn spoke and said: "We must try "and seek some plan, for I have no mind to meet him "when matters are so hot between us, with the differ- "ence in force which there will be; we will take that "counsel," says he, "to fare to the cave, and see what "turn our matters then take." So Sweyn and his men did. They came to the cave at the flood, laid the ship up there, for the cave sloped up into the rock; then the sea rose and flowed into the mouth of the cave. Earl Harold and his men fared all day about the isle looking for them and found them not; they saw too no sailing of ships from the isle. They wondered much at that; they thought it unlikely that Sweyn should have foundered and sunk. They rowed round and round the isle to look for Sweyn and could not find him, as was likely. Then the most they could make of it was that Sweyn and his men must have borne up for other islands; then they rowed thither to seek them where they thought likeliest. Almost as soon as ever the earl and his men rowed away, the sea fell from the cave's mouth. Sweyn and his men had heard the talk of the earl and his men. Sweyn left his ship behind in the cave,[2] but they took an old ship of burden on the isle, which the monks owned, and held on in her to Sanday. There they went on land, but

A.D. 1155.

Sweyn steers for Hellis isle and earl Harold pursues him.

Sweyn takes shelter in the cave, and earl Harold cannot find him.

Earl Harold gives up the search.

Sweyn leaves his ship in the cave, and sails in a ship of burden to Sanday.

[1] *Hellis isle*] Ellarholm, near Shapinsay.

[2] Because they could not launch her as she was high and dry.

A.D. 1155. shoved off the ship of burden and she drove about from strand to strand until she broke up. But Sweyn and his men went up into the isle, and came to that homestead which is called Valaness, there that man dwelt whose name was Bard, Sweyn's kinsman. They called him out by stealth, and Sweyn said that he wished to stay there. Bard said he should do so if he pleased

Sweyn in hiding at Bard's house.

" but I dare not that ye be here save in hiding." They went in and were alone in [a room in] the house, so that only a wall of wattle was between them and other men. There was a secret doorway in the house in which Sweyn was, and stones were loosely piled up in it. That afternoon came John wing earl Harold's steward

John wing comes to the house and abuses Sweyn.

and seven of them together. Bard gave them a hearty welcome, and fires were made for them, and they roasted themselves at them. John was very wild in his words, and talked about the tidings that had happened in those dealings which the earls had had with Sweyn; he blamed Sweyn much, and said he was a dastardly truce-breaker and true to no man; he had but just now made peace with earl Harold, and yet he would fare forthwith and burn the house over his head: he said too there would never be peace in the land before Sweyn were driven out of the land. The master Bard and John's companions rather spoke up for Sweyn. After that John took to speaking ill of earl Erlend, and said that was no scathe though he had lost his life; he called him such an overbearing man, that no one dared to call his head

Sweyn overhears him and rushes out.

his own for him. And when Sweyn heard that, then he could not stand it, and snatched up his weapons and ran at the secret doorway, and hurled down the stones

John hears the noise and flies away half-dressed.

out of it. Then there was a great clatter. Sweyn meant to run round to the hall-door. John sat in his shirt and linen breeks. And when he heard the noise that Sweyn made he lost no time in lacing up his shoon, but jumped up from the fire, and set off at once away from the house. But it was moonless and pitch

John wing is much frost bitten.

dark, and a sharp frost. He came that night to another homestead, and was much frostbitten on his feet, so

that some of his toes dropped off. Sweyn gave peace to John's companions for master Bard's words' sake. A.D. 1155.

Sweyn leaves Sanday and goes to Bardswick, in South Ronaldshay.

Sweyn was there that night, but afterwards next morning they fared away thence with a cutter which Bard owned and gave to Sweyn. Then they fared south to Bardswick, and were there at a cave. Sweyn was sometimes during the day at the house and drank there, but slept by his ship at night, and so guarded himself against his foes.

Earl Rognvald and Sweyn meet.

106. It happened one morning early that Sweyn and his men saw a great long-ship fare from Hrossey to Rognvaldsey, and Sweyn knew at once that it was earl Rognvald's ship, that he was wont to steer himself, and they ran into Rognvaldsey, and thither where Sweyn's cutter lay, and five men went on shore from the earl's ship, but Sweyn and his men were on a height, and pelted the earl's men with stones thence. And when they saw that from the ship, men got out their arms. But when Sweyn and his men saw that they ran down from the height and to the beach, and shoved off the cutter and jumped into her. The long-ship had run up on shore, so that she was fast. Sweyn stood up in his cutter as they rowed out by the long-ship, and had a spear in his hand. But when earl Rognvald saw that, then he took a shield and held it before him, but Sweyn did not throw the spear. But when the earl saw that they were about to part, he made them hold up a truce-shield,[1] and begged that Sweyn and his men would come to land. But when Sweyn saw that, he bade his men pull to land, and says he would still be best pleased if he could be made friends with earl Rognvald.

The earl holds up a shield of truce, and Sweyn lands to talk with him.

Earl Rognvald and Sweyn meet on shore.

They see earl Harold's ship

107. After that earl Rognvald and Sweyn went on shore, and they two talked long together, and things went smoothly with them. And as they sat a-talking then they saw earl Harold's sailing, as he fared from Caithness and to Vogaland.[2] And when the ship bore

[1] *i.e.* a white shield as opposed to the red war shield.

[2] *Vogaland*] Walls in Hoy.

A.D.1155. on the Pentland firth.

away under the island, then Sweyn asked the earl what counsel should be taken now. The earl says that Sweyn should fare over to the Ness then and there. This was in Lent. They fared both at the same time out of Rognvaldsey, the earl he fared to Hrossey, but Sweyn fared west to Stroma, and earl Harold and his men saw the ship, and thought they knew that Sweyn owned her. They put out at once into the firth after them. And when Sweyn and his men saw that the earl and his men held on after them; then they left their ship and hid themselves away. But when earl Harold came to Stroma, they saw Sweyn's ship, and doubted then that the abodes of men must be too near, and for that they would not land from their ship. Amundi was a man's name the son of Hnefi; he was a friend of earl Harold, but a father's brother of Sweyn Asleif's son's step-children; he came between them then, and got it brought about that the same atonement should be held which had been made the winter before. Then a storm of wind sprung up; and each side had to stay there that night; and Amundi stowed away earl Harold and Sweyn both in one bed. In that house many men of each of them took their rest. After this atonement Sweyn fared over to the Ness, but earl Harold over to the Orkneys. Sweyn heard that the earl had said that he called their peace-making rather loosely made. Little heed paid Sweyn to that. He fared south into the Dales, and was that Easter with Summerled his friend; but earl Harold fared north to Shetland, and was there very long that spring. Sweyn fared from the south after Easter, and met on the way John wing's two brothers, the name of the one was Peter down-at-heel,[1] but the other's Blane. Sweyn and his men took them captive and stripped them of all their goods, but brought them to land; then a gallows-tree was hewn for them. And when all was ready, Sweyn said that they should run away up the country; he said it would be more

Sweyn steers for Stroma.

Earl Harold pursues him.

Amundi brings about a fresh atonement.

Sweyn fares over to the Ness.

Earl Harold calls the atonement a loose one.

Sweyn seizes John wing's brother.

He disgraces them and lets them go.

[1] The Translation reads "whining-Peter."

shame to their brother John that they should live. A.D. 1155.
They were long out in the cold and much frozen when they got to a homestead. Sweyn fared thence to the Southern isles to the Lewes, and stayed there a while. Sweyn goes to the Lewes.
But when John wing heard that Sweyn had taken his brothers captive, but knew not what he had done with them, then he fared to Enhallow,[1] and there seized Olaf Sweyn's son, Kolbein the burly's foster-child, and fared with him to Westray. Then earl Rognvald and he met at Rapness, and when the earl saw Olaf there, he said: "Why art thou here, Olaf?" He answers: "It is John wing's doing." The earl looked to John, and said; "Why broughtest thou Olaf hither?" He answered: "Sweyn seized my brothers, and I know "not that he has not slain them." The earl said: "Carry thou him back as fast as thou canst, and do "not dare to do him any harm, whatever has become "of thy bretheren; for thou wilt have no peace in the "isles, either at Sweyn's or Kolbein's hands, if thou "doest aught to him."
John wing seizes Sweyn's son Olaf.
Earl Rognvald reproves him and makes him set Olaf free.

108. After Easter in the spring Sweyn began his voyage from the Southern isles, and had sixty men. He held on his course to the Orkneys, and first to Rowsay. There he seized that man whose name was Hacon churl; he had been with earl Harold when earl Erlend fell. Hacon bought himself off with three marks of gold, and so freed himself from Sweyn. There in Rowsay Sweyn and his men found that ship which the earls had awarded that Sweyn should give up, and the bulwarks on both sides had been hewn out of her. That earl Rognvald had made them do, for no one had been willing either to buy or beg the ship from the earls. Sweyn held on then to Hrossey, and found earl Rognvald in Birsay. The earl gave him a hearty welcome, and Sweyn was with him that spring. Earl Rognvald says that was why he had hewn the bulwarks out of
Sweyn comes back from the Southern isles. He seizes Hacon churl in Rowsay.
Sewyn goes to see earl Rognvald at Birsay.

[1] Eyin Helga, *i.e.*, the Holy Island, now Enhallow, between Rowsay and the Mainland.

A.D. 1155. the ship, because he did not wish him to do any hasty deed there in the isles when he came back from the Southern isles. Sweyn was there with earl Rognvald and fourteen men besides himself. Earl Harold came from Shetland that spring at Whitsuntide, and as soon as ever he came into the Orkneys, earl Rognvald sent men to him to say that his will was that he and Sweyn should make friends anew. And then the meeting for an atonement was fixed for the Friday in the Holy Week in Magnus' church, and earl Rognvald went with a broad-axe to the meeting and Sweyn with him. Then the self-same atonement was agreed upon which had been brought about the winter before.

Earl Harold and Sweyn again atoned at St. Magnus' church.

Earl Rognvald's behaviour to Sweyn.

Sweyn's behaviour.

Earl Harold sends for Sweyn.

Sweyn goes and earl Harold gives him gifts, and makes friends with him.

109. Then earl Rognvald gave to earl Harold that ship which Sweyn had owned, but he gave to Sweyn all else that had been awarded from him and came to his share. Earl Rognvald and Sweyn stood by the church door while the sail was being borne out; for it had been laid up in Magnus' church; and Sweyn looked rather cross when they bore out the sail. The Saturday after, when nones were over, earl Harold's men came to see Sweyn Asleif's son, and said that he would that Sweyn should come and talk with him. Sweyn brought that message before earl Rognvald, and he was not very eager that Sweyn should go on this quest; he says he does not know whether he might trust them. But Sweyn went nevertheless, and six of them together. The earl sat in a little room on a cross-bench, and Thorbjorn clerk by him. There were few other men with the earl. They greeted the earl worthily; and he took their greeting well. They made room for Sweyn to sit; so they sat a while and drank. After that Thorbjorn went away, and Sweyn and his men said that they then doubted much as to what the earl was about to take in hand. Thorbjorn came back a little after and gave Sweyn a scarlet kirtle and cloak and sword; he said he did not know whether he would call them a gift, for those precious things had been

taken from Sweyn the winter before. Sweyn accepted these gifts. Earl Harold gave Sweyn the long-ship which he had owned, and half his lands and estates. He asked Sweyn to come and be with him, and said their friendship should never fail. Sweyn took this well, and went at once that night, and told earl Rognvald how things had gone with earl Harold and himself. Earl Rognvald showed that he was glad at that, and bade Sweyn take heed that they did not fall out again.

A.D. 1155–6.

Sweyn gets back his ship and estates.

110. Sometime after these three chiefs made up their minds to go a sea-roving, Sweyn, Thorbjorn, and Eric. They fared first to the Southern isles. They fared as far west as the Scilly isles, and won there a great victory in Mary Haven[1] on Columba's mass, and got very much war-spoil. After that they fared to the Orkneys, and were well agreed.

Sweyn Thorbjorn, and Eric go a sea-roving.

They harry the Scilly isles. June 9th.

After the atonement of earl Rognvald and earl Harold and Sweyn Asleif's son, the earls were always both together, and earl Rognvald had the leadership, but they were very good friends. When they came home from Scilly, Thorbjorn clerk fared to earl Harold, and became his chief councillor. Sweyn fared home to Gairsay, and sat there with a great band of men in the winters, and had his war-spoil to keep up his household expenses, along with his other stores, which he had there in the isles. He had most leaning to earl Rognvald. Every summer he was out roving. It was said that Thorbjorn clerk made things no better between earl Rognvald and earl Harold. Thorarin cod-nose was the name of one of earl Rognvald's body-guard and his friend too; he was always with the earl. Thorkell was the name of one of Thorbjorn clerk's followers and friends. Those, Thorarin and Thorkell, quarrelled over their drink in Kirkwall, and Thorkell gave Thorarin a wound, and got away afterwards to Thorbjorn. Thorarin's messmates followed Thorkell up, but he and Thorbjorn

Thorbjorn tries to spoil the earls' friendship.

Thorarin cod-nose's quarrel with Thorbjorn's friend, Thorkell.

[1] Port St. Mary.

A.D. 1156–7.

defended themselves out of a loft. Then that was told to the earls, and they came to the spot to part them. Thorbjorn would not let earl Rognvald utter an award in this quarrel, and found fault with the hue and cry that had been made to his house. But when Thorarin was whole of his wounds, then he slew Thorkell as he went to church. Thorarin ran into the church, but Thorbjorn and his men ran after him and his followers. Then that was told to earl Rognvald, and he went thither with a great company, and asked whether Thorbjorn meant to break open the church. Thorbjorn said that the church had no right to hold those who were inside it. Earl Rognvald said once for all the church must not be broken into, and Thorbjorn was hustled away from the church by the throng of men. No atonement was made for this. Thorbjorn fared over to the Ness, and was there a while. Then there was much heard of their doings, for Thorbjorn did much mischief both in the ravishing of women and in slaughter of men. Thorbjorn fared by stealth into the Orkneys, in a cutter, with thirty men, and landed at Scapa-neck. He went to Kirkwall, and three men with him. He rushed in by himself alone in the evening into the tavern where Thorarin was a-drinking. Thorbjorn smote him at once his death-blow; after that he ran off in the dark far away. For this sake earl Rognvald made Thorbjorn clerk an outlaw over all his realm. Thorbjorn fared over to the Ness, and was with his brother-in-law Hosvir in hiding; he was called "the strong"; he had to wife Ragnhilda, Thorbjorn's sister; their son was Stephen councillor, Thorbjorn's follower. A little while after Thorbjorn fared to see Malcolm the Scot-king, and was with him in good cheer. With the Scot-king was that man whose name was Gilli-Odran; he was of great kindred and a very unfair man; he fell under the wrath of the Scot-king for the mischief and manslayings which he wrought in his realm. Gilli-Odran ran away into the Orkneys, and the earls took him into their service.

Thorarin slays Thorkell, and takes sanctuary. Thorbjorn pursues him.

Earl Rognvald interferes.

Thorbjorn goes over to the Ness, and does much mischief.

Thorbjorn returns suddenly to the Orkneys, and slays Thorarin.

Earl Rognvald makes him an outlaw.

Gilli-Odran the earl's steward.

A.D. 1157–8.

Gilli-Odran was in Caithness, and had the earl's stewardship there. Helgi was the name of a man of rank and a householder in Caithness, he was earl Rognvald's friend. He and Gilli-Odran quarrelled about the stewardship, and Gilli-Odran fell upon him and slew him. But after the manslaughter he fared away west to Scotland's firths, and that chief took him in whose name was Summerled the freeman, he had rule in the Dales, in Scotland's firths. Summerled had to wife Ragnhilda daughter of Olaf bitling,[1] the Southern isle king. The mother of Ragnhilda was Ingibjorg, the daughter of earl Hacon Paul's son. These were the children of Summerled and Ragnhilda: Dougal the king, Rognvald, and Angus, that is called the Dale-dwellers' kin. Earl Rognvald summoned to him Sweyn Asleif's son ere he went on his roving-cruise. And when they met, earl Rognvald begged him to keep a look-out for Gilli-Odran if he had a chance. Sweyn said he could not tell what might be fated to come of it.

He slays Helgi, and flies away west.

The Dale-dwellers' kin.

Earl Rognvald begs Sweyn to look out for Gilli-Odran.

111. After that Sweyn fared off on his viking-cruise, and had five long-ships. And when he came west off Scotland's firths, Sweyn heard that Summerled the freeman was gone on board ship, and meant to go a-roving; he had seven ships. There Gilli-Odran steered one ship, and he was gone higher up the firths after that force which had not yet come. As soon as ever Sweyn heard of Summerled, he ran in to battle against him, and there was a hard battle. And in that fight fell Summerled the freeman, and much folk with him. There Sweyn became sure that Gilli-Odran had not been there. Then Sweyn fared to look him up, and found him in Murkfirth, and there he slew Gilli-Odran and fifty men with him. After that Sweyn fared a sea-roving, and back at autumn, as he was wont. And when he came home he was not long in meeting earl Rognvald, and he showed himself well pleased at those deeds.

Sweyn slays Summerled the freeman and Gilli-Odran in the western firths.

[1] *i.e.*, the tiny, an allusion probably to his stature.

A.D. 1158–9. The earls go to Caithness to hunt.

112. It was the earl's custom nearly every summer to fare over to Caithness, and there to go up into the woods and wastes to hunt red-deer or reindeer.[1] Thorbjorn clerk was with Malcolm the Scot-king, but sometimes he fared down to the Ness, and was with his friends by stealth. He had three friends in Caithness, in whom he placed most trust. One was Hosvir his brother-in-law; the second Lifolf, who dwelt in Thorsdale; the third was Halvard Dufa's son, who dwelt at Force in Calfdale which goes off from Thorsdale. These were his bosom friends.

1158. Thorbjorn clerk in hiding in Caithness.

The earls hear about Thorbjorn and set off to look for him up Thurso-dale. August 19th, 1159.

113. When earl Rognvald had been earl two and twenty winters since earl Paul was made captive, then the earls fared over to Caithness, when the summer was far spent, after their wont. And when they came to Thurso, then they heard some rumour that Thorbjorn clerk must be up Thorsdale in hiding, and not at all short-handed, and how he must mean an onslaught thence if he got a chance. Then the earls got men together to them, and fared with a band of one hundred, and twenty of them ride, but the others were on foot. They fared in the evening up the dale and turned in as guests somewhere where there was (what the Celts call) "erg," but we call "setr" (a shieling on the hill). That evening, as men sat by the fires, earl Rognvald sneezed very often. Earl Harold spoke and said: "Shrill sneez-" ing, kinsman." They fared on up the dale the next morning, and earl Rognvald rode always on in front that day, and that man with him whose name was Asolf; another man who was with him was Jomar his kinsman. Five of them together so ride a-head up along Calfdale.[2] And as they fared to the homestead which is called Force, master Halvard was up on a corn-rick, and piled it up, but his house-carles bore the sheaves up to him. Earl Harold and his men rode somewhat behind. But when Halvard knew earl Rognvald, he hailed him by

Earl Rognvald rides a-head up Calfdale, till he comes to Halvard's house.

[1] *See* Dr. Smith in the 8th vol. of the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

[2] *Calfdale*] Calder, in Caithness.

name, and bawled out very loud, and asked him after news, and his voice might have been heard just as well though he were farther off. This was a little way from the sitting-room, and the house stood on a high brink; but there was a narrow fenced path to ride along up to the house, and it was very steep. In this homestead was Thorbjorn clerk inside, and sat at drink. The fenced path led up to the house-end at the gable, and there was a doorway in the house and another doorway in the gable, and stones heaped up loosely in it. When Thorbjorn and his men heard the words that passed, and how Halvard hailed earl Rognvald and his men, they ran at once to their arms, and broke down the stones out of the secret door, and sprang out at it. Thorbjorn runs round the gable, and to the fence of the path. Just then the earl and his men had come to the door. Then Thorbjorn smote at once at the earl, but Asolf threw his arm in the way, and the stroke took off his hand. Afterwards the sword came on the earl's chin, and that was a great wound. Asolf said, when he got the stroke: "Let those follow the earl better "who have more gifts to pay him for." He was then eighteen winters old, and was new-come to the earl. Earl Rognvald wanted to jump off his horse's back when he saw Thorbjorn, but his foot got fast in the stirrup. At that moment up came Stephen and thrust at the earl with a spear. Then Thorbjorn gave the earl another wound. But Jomar just then thrust a spear into Thorbjorn's thigh, and the blow passed on into his small entrails. Then Thorbjorn and his men turned to the back of the house, and there they had to run down a great steep brink, and on to a soft moor. Just then up came earl Harold and his men, and their course was so shaped that they came right in the way of Thorbjorn and his men, and then each knew the others. Then the earl's men said, those who knew what was in the wind, that they should turn after Thorbjorn and his men; but earl Harold set his face against it, and says he will wait

A.D. 1159.

Halvard's loud greeting.

Thorbjorn clerk rushes out of the house and takes earl Rognvald unawares.

Asolf's bravery.

Earl Rognvald is slain. August 20th, 1159.

Thorbjorn flies down to the moor.

Earl Harold's behaviour.

A.D. 1159. and hear what earl Rognvald says about this matter: "For Thorbjorn is a very great friend of mine as ye "know, for kinship's sake, and many other ties which "are between us." But those men who were with earl Rognvald thronged about him dead,[1] and rather a long time passed ere earl Harold and his men heard the tidings. Then they [Thorbjorn and his men] were come on to the moor, and across the quagmire which ran along through the moor. But for the egging on of the earls' companions, earl Harold and his men ran down on the moor, and the two bands met at the quagmire, so that each band was on its own side, and Thorbjorn and his men held the bank of the dike against them. Then those men flocked to him from the homestead who had followed him thither, and all together they made up fifty men. Then they defended themselves manfully, and had a good stronghold to fight from, for the quagmire was both broad and deep, and the moor was soft up to it in front, and the only way they could make an onslaught on them was, that they shot at them with spears. Thorbjorn told his men that they should not shoot any of them back. And when the shots died away, then they began to speak to one another, and Thorbjorn called out to earl Harold and spoke thus: "This I will pray of you, kinsman, that ye give me "peace; but I will offer to give over this matter into "your power, that ye alone may doom it; and I will "then shrink from no one thing that is in my power, "that your honour may be then more than it was "before. I hope also, kinsman, that thou wilt bear in "mind that those strifes have been, in which thou "wouldst not have made such a difference between us "two, earl Rognvald and me, that thou wouldst have "slain me though I had done this deed, I mean when "he kept thee most under his elbow, and let thee have "no voice in anything any more than his knave; but

While earl Harold lingers, Thorbjorn gets across a deep dike.

Earl Harold is forced to pursue him.

Thorbjorn holds the dike against them.

Thorbjorn's speech to earl Harold.

[1] The Danish Translation reads, "while he was a-dying."

" I gave thee the best gifts, and looked to do thee honour A.D. 1159.
" in all that I could. But this deed that I have done Thor-
" is great wickedness, and that lies on me, but the bjorn's speech to
" whole realm is fallen into your power. You may also earl Ha-
" know this, that earl Rognvald meant the same lot for rold.
" me which I have now given to him; and it is my
" foreboding, kinsman, though things had turned out so
" that I were dead, but earl Rognvald were alive, that
" you would treat him as a man who had done a deed
" which you must put up with, but me ye now wish
" to make a dead man." Thorbjorn went on so with
many and fair-spoken words, and many men backed that
with him, and begged for peace for him. So it came The earl is inclined to
that the earl began to listen to what he said when many give him peace.
backed it. Then Magnus the son of Havard Gunni's
son, a chieftain of the earls' and their kinsman. He
was the man of most birth and worth in the band with
earl Harold. He spoke thus: " It is no business of Magnus Havard's
" ours to teach you what to do, earl, after these great son's
" deeds which we see before us. But I must say how speech.
" the common fame will run about them, if peace be
" given to Thorbjorn after this work; and this besides
" I will say, that when he dares to say to your face
" nearly at every word that he hath done this his ill
" deed for thee, or wrought it for thy honour, it will
" be an everlasting shame and dishonour to thee, and
" to all the earl's kinsfolk, if he be not avenged. I He declares that earl
" think that earl Rognvald's friends will hold it for Harold
" sooth that thou must for a long while have been must avenge earl
" plotting the earl's death; but now hast brought it Roguvald.
" about. Or thinkest thou that he will clear thy con-
" science when he has to throw off the blame from him-
" self, but when no one makes an answer for you, when
" he now tells you to your face that he has wrought
" this misdeed for your sake; or how couldest thou
" better prove the truth of that but by now giving him Magnus
" peace. As for me, my mind is made up, that he shall Havard
" never have peace from me, if any good men and true son's bold speech.

A.D. 1159. " will follow me, whether it be lieve or loath to you." Just in the same way spoke his brothers, Thorstein and Hacon, and Sweyn Hroald's son. Then they turned away from the earl, and went up along the bank of the dike, and tried where they might get across. And when Thorbjorn and his men saw that Magnus and his followers turn away along the dike, then Thorbjorn began to speak and said: "Now they must have split " about the counsel to take, the earl will wish to give " me peace, but Magnus will speak against it." But while they were speaking about that, Thorbjorn and his men fell away from the dike. Earl Harold and his men stood on the dike-bank. And when he saw that nothing would come of the peace-giving, he leapt over the quagmire with all his weapons, and it was nine ells across the dike. His companions leapt after him, and no one got to leap clear over, but most of them got hold of the bank and so floundered to land. Thorbjorn's men egged him on that they should turn either against the earl and his men or against Magnus and his men, and let their quarrel be settled there and then. Then Thorbjorn said: "Methinks the best plan is that each " man should choose what he thinks likeliest to stand " him in stead, but as for me, I will still look to meet- " ing with earl Harold." Most men set their faces against this, and begged him rather to take to the woods and save himself. Thorbjorn would not take that counsel. So those men his companions dropped off from him, and looked for help for themselves in divers ways. But Thorbjorn and eight men together with him were left behind. And when he sees that earl Harold is come over the dike, he goes to meet him, and fell on his knees before him, and says he brings him his head. Many of the earl's men still begged for peace for Thorbjorn. Then the earl began to speak, and said: "Away and " save thyself, Thorbjorn, I have no heart to slay thee, " but I will not see thee henceforth." Then they were faring down along Calfdale's river, when these words

He and his brothers and their following part from the earl, and try to get across the dike.

Earl Harold springs nine ells across the dike, and his men flounder after him.

Thorbjorn waits for earl Harold and falls on his knees before him.

Earl Harold's answer.

They turn down Calfdale.

passed between them. Magnus and his men pressed on hard after them, and when the earl saw that, he spoke: "Save thyself, Thorbjorn; I cannot fight for thee "against my men." Then Thorbjorn and his men parted from the earl's company, and went to some empty shielings, which are called Asgrim's "erg"; Magnus and his men followed Thorbjorn and his men up, and forthwith set fire to the house. Thorbjorn and his men defended themselves manfully. And when the house began to fall down over their heads from the fire, Thorbjorn and his men came out, and every weapon was at once brought to bear upon them that could reach them; they were already much worn out by the force of the flames. There all those nine brothers-in-arms lost their lives. And when they came to look what wounds Thorbjorn had, his entrails had slipt out into that wound which Jomar had given him. Earl Harold went his way down along the dale, but Magnus and his men turned back to Force, and laid out earl Rognvald's body and brought it down to Thurso.

A.D. 1159.

Magnus and his men press on after them, and the earl bids Thorbjorn to fly and save himself.

He takes refuge in some bothies.

Magnus sets fire to them, and slays Thorbjorn.

[1] Earl Harold and his men fared with the body away thence out into the Orkneys with a goodly company, and bestowed burial on it in St. Magnus' church in the choir; and there he rested until Bishop Bjarni caused his halidom (relics) to be taken up by the Pope's leave.[2] There on the stone on which earl Rognvald's blood had come when he died, it may still be seen at this very day as fair as though it were new-shed blood. Earl Rognvald's death was a great grief, for he was very much beloved there in the isles, and far and wide elsewhere. He had been a very great helper to many men, bountiful of money, gentle, and a steadfast friend; a great man for feats of strength and a good skald. He had a daughter his only child alive, Ingigerd, whom Eric staybrails had

Burial of earl Rognvald in St. Magnus' church at Kirkwall.

His relics taken up by bishop Bjarni. 1192.

His blood still seen where he fell.

Earl Rognvald's character.

[1] Fl., quoting some collection of annals, reads thus, "The death-day "of earl Rognvald—Kali is five "nights after Mary's mass the "former, in summer."

[2] Fl. reads, "until God revealed "his worthiness by many and great "miracles."

A.D. 1159. His descendants.

to wife. Their children were these: Harald the young, and Magnus mannikin, Rognvald, and Ingibjorg, Elin, and Ragnhilda.

Earl Harold sole ruler over the Orkneys.

114. After the fall of earl Rognvald, earl Harold took all the isles under his rule, and became the sole chief over them. Earl Harold was a mighty chief, one of the tallest and strongest of men, "dour" and hard-hearted; he had to wife Afreka;[1] their children were these: Henry and Hacon, Helena and Margaret. When Hacon was but a few winters old, Sweyn Asleif's son offered to take him as his foster-child, and he was bred up there, and as soon as ever he was so far fit, that he could go about with other men, then Sweyn had him away with him a sea-roving every summer, and led him on to worthiness in everything. It was Sweyn's wont at that time, that he sat through the winter at home in Gairsay, and there he kept always about him eighty men at his beck. He had so great a drinking-hall, that there was not another as great in all the Orkneys. Sweyn had in the spring hard work, and made them lay down very much seed, and looked much after it himself. But when that toil was ended, he fared away every spring on a viking-voyage, and harried about among the Southern isles and Ireland, and came home after midsummer. That he called spring-viking. Then he was at home until the corn-fields were reaped down, and the grain seen to and stored. Then he fared away on a viking-voyage, and then he did not come home till the winter was one month spent and that he called his autumn-viking.

His children.

His son Hacon fostered by Sweyn.

Sweyn's way of life.

Sweyn's two sea-roving voyages every year.

Sweyn's spring-cruise to the Southern isles,

115. These tidings happened once on a time, that Sweyn Asleif's son fared away on his spring-cruise, then Hacon earl Harold's son fared with him; and they had five ships with oars, and all of them large. They

[1] *Afreka*] She was sister of Duncan, earl of Fife. When earl Harold quarrelled with the Scottish Court, during earl Rognvald's absence in the Holy Land, he repudiated her, and married Hvarflada, daughter of Malcolm McHeth, earl of Moray. See below, ch. 119 comp. also Munch, N. H. iii. 847 note.

harried about among the Southern isles. Then the folk was so scared at him in the Southern isles, that men hid all their goods and chattels in the earth or in piles of rocks. Sweyn sailed as far south as Man, and got ill off for spoil. Thence they sailed out under Ireland and harried there. But when they came about south under Dublin, then two keels sailed there from off the main, which had come from England, and meant to steer for Dublin; they were laden with English cloths, and great store of goods was aboard them. Sweyn and his men pulled up to the keels, and offered them battle. Little came of the defence of the Englishmen before Sweyn gave the word to board. Then the Englishmen were made prisoners. And there they robbed them of every penny which was aboard the keels, save that the Englishmen kept the clothes they stood in and some food, and went on their way afterwards with the keels, but Sweyn and his men fared to the Southern isles, and shared their war-spoil. They sailed from the west with great pomp. They did this as a glory for themselves when they lay in harbours, that they threw awnings of English cloth over their ships. But when they sailed into the Orkneys, they sewed the cloth on the fore-part of the sails, so that it looked in that wise as though the sails were made altogether of broadcloth. This they called the broadcloth-cruise. Sweyn fared home to his house in Gairsay. He had taken from the keels much wine and English mead. Now when Sweyn had been at home a short while, he bade to him earl Harold, and made a worthy feast against his coming. When earl Harold was at the feast, there was much talk amongst them of Sweyn's good cheer. The earl spoke and said: "This I would now, Sweyn, that thou "wouldest lay aside thy sea-rovings; 'tis good now to "drive home with a whole wain. But thou knowest "this, that thou hast long maintained thyself and thy "men by sea-roving, but so it fares with most men "who live by unfair means, that they lose their lives

A.D. 1171.

Man, and Ireland. 1171.

He takes two English ships, richly laden with cloth and other goods.

Sweyn's pomp as he sailed home.

Sweyn sews broadcloth on his sails and calls it his broadcloth cruise.

Sweyn gives a feast to earl Harold.

The earl advises him to leave off roving.

A.D. 1171. " in strife, if they do not break themselves from it." Then Sweyn answered, and looked to the earl, and spoke with a smile, and said thus: " Well spoken is this, lord, " and friendly spoken, and it will be good to take a bit " of good counsel from you; but some men lay that to " your door, that ye too are men of little fairness." The earl answered: "I shall have to answer for my share, " but a gossiping tongue drives me to say what I do." Sweyn said: "Good, no doubt, drives you to it, lord. " And so it shall be, that I will leave off sea-roving, for " I find that I am growing old, and strength lessens " much in hardships and warfare. Now I will go out " on my autumn-cruise, and I would that it might be " with no less glory than the spring-cruise was; but " after that my warfaring shall be over." The earl answers: "'Tis hard to see, messmate, whether death " or lasting luck will come first." After that they dropped talking about it. Earl Harold fared away from the feast, and was led out with fitting gifts. So he and Sweyn parted with great love-tokens.

Sweyn's answer.

Sweyn says he will leave off roving after one more voyage.

Earl Harold's warning.

Sweyn's last cruise.

Hacon Harold's son goes with him.

They seize Dublin, and hold the town to ransom.

116. A little after Sweyn busks him for his roving cruise; he had seven long-ships and all great. Hacon earl Harold's son went along with Sweyn on his voyage. They held on their course first to the Southern isles, and got there little war-spoil; thence they fared out under Ireland, and harried there far and wide. They fared so far south as Dublin, and came upon them there very suddenly, so that the townsmen were not ware of them before they had got into the town. They took there much goods. They made prisoners there those men who were rulers there in the town. The upshot of their business was that they gave the town up into Sweyn's power, and agreed to pay as great a ransom as he chose to lay upon them. Sweyn was also to hold the town with his men and to have rule over it. The Dublin men swear an oath to do this. They fared to their ships at even, but next morning Sweyn was to come into the town, and take the ransom, place his men

about the town, and take hostages from the townsmen. A.D. 1171.
Now it must be told of what happened in the town during the night. The men of good counsel who were in the town held a meeting among themselves, and talked over the straits which had befallen them; it seemed to them hard to let their town come into the power of the Orkneyingers, and worst of all of that man whom they knew to be the most unjust man in the Western lands. So they agreed amongst themselves that they would cheat Sweyn if they might. They took that counsel, that they dug great trenches before the burg-gate on the inside, and in many other places between the houses where it was meant that Sweyn and his men should pass; but men lay in wait there in the houses hard by with weapons. They laid planks over the trenches, so that they should fall down as soon as ever a man's weight comes on them. After that they strewed straw on the planks so that the trenches might not be seen, and so bided the morrow.

The plot of the men of Dublin against Sweyn.

They dig trenches in the streets, and cover them over, and lay an ambush for Sweyn.

The plot of the men of Dublin.

118. On the morning after Sweyn and his men arose and put on their arms; after that they went to the town. And when they came inside beyond the burg-gate the Dublin men made a lane from the burg-gate right to the trenches. Sweyn and his men saw not what they were doing, and ran into the trenches. The townsmen they ran straightway to hold the burg-gate, but some to the trenches, and brought their arms to bear on Sweyn and his men. It was unhandy for them to make any defence, and Sweyn lost his life there in the trenches, and all those who had gone into the town. So it was said that Sweyn was the last to die of all his messmates, and spoke these words ere he died: "Know this all men, whether I lose my life to-
" day or not, that I am one of the saint earl Rognvald's
" body-guard, and I now mean to put my trust in being
" there where he is with God."[1] Sweyn's men fared

Sweyn and some of his men go into the town, fall into the trenches, and are slain.

Sweyn's last words.

[1] G. V. thinks that this passage from "So it was said" to "with " God," is a later interpolation.

A.D. 1171–98. The rest of Sweyn's men sail back to the Orkneys.

at once to their ships and pulled away, and nothing is told about their voyage before they come into the Orkneys. There now is an end of telling about Sweyn; and it is the talk of men that he hath been most of a man for his own sake in the Western lands, both of yore and now-a-days, of those men who had no higher titles of honour than he.[1]

Sweyn's sons share his inheritance.

After the fall of Sweyn, his sons Olaf and Andrew shared his inheritance between them. They made the next summer after Sweyn lost his life a party-wall in that great drinking-hall which he had owned in Gairsay. Andrew Sweyn's son had to wife Frida Kolbein the burly's daughter, sister of Bjarni, bishop of the Orkneyingers.

Earl Harold and his children.

Earl Harold now ruled over the Orkneys, and was the greatest chief; he had to wife afterwards Hvarflada[2] earl Malcolm's daughter of Moray. Their children were these: Thorfinn, David, and John, Gunhilda, Herborga, and Longlife.

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[1] Here the Danish Translation ends, adding "Finis. A final historical conclusion to this chronicle." The following sentences are from the Fl.

[2] *Hvarflada*] Comp. ch. 115 above, and note.

ADDENDA TO THE ORKNEYINGERS' SAGA.

I.

From the Flatey Book.

When bishop William the latter was dead, Bjarni son of Kolbein the burly was consecrated to be bishop after him, and he was one of the greatest chiefs and a dear friend of earl Harold. Bishop Bjarni had a great stock of kinsmen in the isles. The sons of Eric staybrails were these: Harold the young, and Magnus mannikin, and Rognvald. Those brothers fared east to Norway to find king Magnus Erling's son, and he gave Harold the title of earl and half the isles, just as the saint earl Rognvald his mother's father had held them. Earl Harold the young fared west across the sea, and with him Sigurd mannikin, the son of Ivar the bitter. The mother of Ivar was a daughter of Havard Gunni's son; that Ivar fell at Akkra with Erling wryneck. Sigurd mannikin was young of years and the most promising of men, and most showy in his dress. Magnus nobody stayed behind with the king, and fell with him in Sogn. They came first to Shetland, and thence fared to Caithness, and so up into Scotland to find William the Scot-king. Earl Harold begged that William would give him half Caithness, just as earl Rognvald, had held it. The king granted him that. Thence earl Harold fared down to Caithness, and gathered force together thence. Then came to him Lifolf bald-pate, his brother-in-law; he had there many noble men of those who were his kinsfolk. Lifolf had to wife Ragnhilda the earl's sister. This [Harold] was called earl Harold the young,[1] but Harold Maddad's son [was called] the old. Lifolf had most to do with his plans of all the earl's

A.D. 1188.

Bishop William the 2nd died 1188.

Eric staybrail's children.

Earl Harold the young.

Sigurd mannikin.

William the Scot-king gives Harold the young half Caithness. 1198.

Lifolf the bald Harold the young's chief councillor.

[1] *Harold the young*] This account of the latter years of earl Harold Maddad son's reign and of the doings of earl Harold the young is very confused, and the Saga disposes of the events of several

A.D. 1198. Earl Harold the young claims half the isles from earl Harold the old.

followers. They made men go out into the Orkneys to find earl Harold the old, and begged that he would give up half the isles as the king had granted them to earl Harold the young. But when those words came before the earl, then he refused short off to share his realm by any such settlement. Then Lifold bald-pate went on the same journey, and the earl threatened him very much ere he went away. Earl Harold the old drew force together after that, and got about him a very great band of men. Earl Harold the young and his men were in Caithness, and had gathered some men there. When they heard that earl Harold the old was gathering force, then they sent Lifolf again afresh north over the Pentland-firth to spy out about the host. He ran in from the east to Rognvaldsey, and went up there on the fell, and found there three warders of earl Harold the old, and two they slew, but had one with them to ask the news. Lifolf saw then the earl's host too, and he had many ships, and most of them big. Then Lifolf turned down from the fell and took to his ship, and told his messmates such tidings as he had become ware of. He said that earl Harold had so large a host, that it was no good their fighting with him. "It is my counsel," says Lifolf, "that we "fare this very day north into Thurso, and there we "shall gather a great force to-day. But if ye will run "out to battle with earl Harold, then that is the "greatest risk, however ye set about it." Then Sigurd mannikin took up the word, and said: "In an evil hour "hath the earl's brother-in-law fared over the Pent-"land-firth, when he hath left his heart behind him," and said it was a sorry out-look if all were to become heartless as soon as ever they saw old Harold's host. Lifolf answered: "'Tis hard to see, Sigurd, where each "man keeps his heart, if there is need to call on it. "I ween that hour on which I run from young Harold,

Harold the old refuses and gathers force together.

Lifolf goes over South Ronaldshay to spy out his force.

His advice.

His dispute with Sigurd mannikin.

years in a very summary way. Fuller accounts are to be found in the Melrose Chronicle, in Fordun, and in Hoveden, Savile, Watts, p. 767. These accounts vary in some material points, but Munch, N. H. iv. 41, note, and 443, note, has done his best to reconcile them.

" that ye fine men with your braveries will find it hard " work to stand behind." But nothing came of the voyage to Thurso. But a little while after they saw earl Harold's fleet of ships sailing away from Rognvaldsey; then they busked them for battle. Earl Harold [the old] went on shore, and drew up his men in array; he had a far greater host. Those, Sigurd mannikin and Lifolf, drew up the young earl's host. Sigurd mannikin was in a red scarlet kirtle, and he tucked in the skirts under his belt. Some men said that he should do so at his back too. He bade them not turn the skirts up, " for I shall have to go straight forward to day." Each of these [Lifolf and Sigurd] was at his own wing of the battle. And when they had drawn up their band the fight was joined, and was very hard and hot. In earl Harold the old's force were many of the toughest and hardest men, they who were mighty men of valour and very well boun, as were the bishop's kinsfolk and many other of the chiefs of the earl's train. When the battle had stood a while Sigurd mannikin fell, and he had fought well and manfully. Lifolf, of all the other men, went best forward. So say the Caithness men, that he went thrice through earl Harold the old's battle array, but still at last he fell in that fight with good fame. When they were both fallen, Lifolf and Sigurd mannikin, flight broke out among the force of the young earl. Earl Harold the young fell by some turf-ditches; then at once at night was seen a great light where his blood had fallen. They call the earl a very saint, and there is now a church where he fell, and he is buried there on the Ness, and untold tokens are granted of God to be done for his worthiness' sake; and that shows clearly that he wished to go over to the Orkneys to his kinsmen earl Magnus and earl Rognvald. After the battle earl Harold laid under him all Caithness, and fared at once out to the Orkneys and boasted of a great victory.[1]

A.D. 1198. Earl Harold the old sails out to attack them.

He lands, and draws up his force to battle.

Sigurd mannikin and Lifolf draw up young Harold's force.

After a fierce fight Harold the old's veterans win the day.

Sigurd, Lifolf, and Harold the young are slain. 1198.

[1] The slaying of earl Harold the younger is assigned in the Ann Island, to the year 1198; cfr. Biskupass. i. 455, (fall Haralds jarls únga á *Katanesi*).

A.D. 1199–1200. William the Scot-king's [William the Lion's, 1164–1214] quarrel with earl Harold Maddad's son.

William the Scot-king heard that earl Harold was fallen, and that too how earl Harold Maddad's son had laid under him all Caithness, and had not asked his leave. At this the Scot-king was very wrath, and sends men into the Southern isles to Rognvald Godred's son, the king of the Southern isles. Godred's mother was Ingibjorg, daughter of earl Hacon Paul's son. King Rognvald was then the greatest warrior in the western lands. Three winters long it was that he lay out on board his war-ships, and never once came under sooty rafter.

He sends king Rognvald of the Southern isles against him.

As soon as ever these words came to Rognvald, he drew together a host over all the realm of the Southern isles and from Cantire; he had too a great force from Ireland.

He subdues Caithness, and goes home after setting up three stewards. 1200.

Then he held on his course north to Caithness, and took all the land under him, and stayed there a while. Earl Harold sat in the Orkneys and gave no heed to the king's doings. But when the winter came on, king Rognvald busked him home to his realm in the Southern isles. He set up behind him in Caithness three stewards; one was Mani Olaf's son, the second Rafn the law-man, Hlifolf the quick was the name of the third. Some time after that king Rognvald fared away to the Southern isles, earl Harold sent a man over to the Ness, and said that he thought his errand would turn out good if he could get one of those stewards slain, or all three. This man was put across the Pentland-firth; he went about till he met Rafn the law-man, and Rafn asked whither he was going. He was slow to answer. Rafn took up the word, and said: "I see that on thy face that earl Harold "has sent thee hither to the Ness for some ill, but I "cannot find it in my heart to slay thee, for thou art "my kinsman." With this they parted, and he fared away thence, and came to Hlifolf's house, and the upshot of their dealings was that he made an end of Hlifolf. Then he ran away and out to the Orkneys to find earl Harold, and told him what he had done.

Earl Harold has one of them slain.

Hlifolf the steward slain.

Earl Harold busks him now for a voyage out of the Orkneys, and when he was all boun, he fared first north south] to Thurso and landed there from his ships. The

Earl Harold fares to Thurso to punish

bishop was in the burg at Scrabster. And when they saw earl Harold's host, those Caithness men saw that he had so great a host that they could in nowise withstand him. It was also told them that the earl was in such a bad frame of mind, that there was no saying whom he would spare. Then the bishop took up the word, and said: "If the meeting of us two goes off well, "then he will give you peace." It was done as the bishop laid down. The earl's host rushed from the ships and to the burg. The bishop went to meet the earl, and greeted him with soft words, but the end of their meeting was, that the earl made them seize the bishop, and cut the tongue out of him, but after that he made them stick a knife into his eyes and blind him. Bishop John called on the holy maid St. Trollhæna (St. Triduana or St. Tredwall) in his maiming, and went afterwards on a certain cliff as soon as ever they let him loose. There was a woman on the cliff, and the bishop prayed her to help him. She saw that blood fell from his face, and said: "Be thou still, lord, for I will help thee "with all my heart." The bishop was brought to that place where the holy Trollhæna rests; there the bishop got a cure both for his speech and sight. Earl Harold went then up to the burg, and they gave it over at once into the earl's power. He visited men there and then with great chastisements, and laid on those men great fines whom he thought had been most in the treason against him. He made all the Caithness men then come again under him with oaths, whether it were lieve or loath to them; after that he seized as his own all those estates which the stewards had owned who had fared to find the Scot-king. Then earl Harold sat there in Caithness with much folk.

A.D. 1201. the traitors. He maims and blinds the bishop. By Saint Trollhæna's help he regains speech and sight.

Earl Harold chastizes the Caithness men.

Now it is to be told of the stewards. They made up their minds, six of them together, to go up to Scotland, and found the king there during the winter at the Yule-fast [Advent]; then they could tell him plainly of all these tidings which had been done in Caithness on earl Harold's journey. At these tidings the king was

The stewards fly to the Scot-king; he treats them well and sets out with a mighty

A.D. 1202. very wrath, but he said they should pay double fines who had left his side. The first day that they were with the Scot-king he made them give to each of them five and twenty ells of cloth, and besides an English mark as travelling silver to each man of them. They were there with the Scot-king in good cheer on over Yule. But at once at the back of Yule the Scot-king sends word to all the chiefs in his realm, and drew together a very mighty host all over the land, and marched with that host straight down on Caithness to attack earl Harold. The Scot-king had a very great host, and he fares till he comes into Eystein's dale, there Caithness and Sutherland meet. The camp of the Scot-king stretched all along from each end of the dale, and that is a long way. Earl Harold was in Caithness when he heard these tidings. He drew together a force to him at once, and so it is said of it, that he got sixty hundred men, and yet had no power to withstand the Scot-king in fight. Then he sent men to find the Scot-king to try to make an atonement with him. But when that was brought before the king, he said that there was no need to look for an atonement unless he had every fourth penny from Caithness that was in the land. But when this message came before earl Harold, he called the landsmen to talk with him, and the other chiefs, and sought counsel of them. But with that, that they saw there was no way out of their difficulties, they came into that atonement that all the Caithness men should pay a fourth of their property to the Scot-king, save and except those men who had gone to find the king that winter. Earl Harold fared out to the Orkneys, and he was to have all Caithness as he had had it before that earl Harold the young took it from the Scot-king. In that strife was blinded Thorfinn son of earl Harold; he had been taken as a hostage by the Scot-king. After that atonement the king fared up into Scotland. Earl Harold was now sole chief in the Orkneys.

host for Caithness. His camp in Eystein's dale.

Earl Harold with sixty hundred men can make no head against the Scot-king.

The king makes the Caithness men pay a heavy fine, and returns to Scotland.

It was towards the end of earl Harold's days that Olaf his son-in-law and John Halkel's son gathered a

Harold's son-in-law Olaf goes

band out of the Orkneys, and went east to Norway against king Sverrir. They chose for their king Sigurd son of king Magnus Erling's son. With that host many men of high birth out of the Orkneys threw in their lot. That was one of the strongest bands. They were called the Island lads, and for a while Goldshanks. They fought at Floravoe against king Sverrir and got the worst of it. There fell both John and Olaf and their king as well, and the most part of the host. After that king Sverrir laid great feud at earl Harold's door, and said it was all his doing that that band had been got together. So it came about that earl Harold fared from the west, and bishop Bjarni with him. The earl gave himself over into king Sverrir's power, and let him alone shear and shape all matters between them. Then king Sverrir decreed that all Shetland should fall from earl Harold with scatt and shot, and the Orkney earls have had not that land since.

A.D. 1194. with a great band to Norway and fights with king Sverrir. King Sverrir slays them, and lays the blame of their expedition on earl Harold. Earl Harold deprived of Shetland by king Sverrir.

Earl Harold was then five winters old when the title of earl was given him. He was twenty winters earl; so that he and the saint earl Rognvald were both together earls over the Orkneys. After earl Rognvald's fall, Harold was earl in the Orkneys forty-eight winters. He breathed his last in the second year of the reign of king Ingi Bard's son. After earl Harold his sons John and David took his realm. His son Henry has Ross in Scotland.

Earl Harold's long reign— 1139–1206.

These have been the most mighty of the Orkneyingers' earls after the telling of those men who have made stories about them; Sigurd Eystein's son is there named; earl Thorfinn Sigurd's son; earl Harold Maddad's son. Those brothers John and David both ruled the lands after their father, till David breathed his last of sickness in that year on which Hacon the silly breathed his last in Norway. After that John took the title of earl over all the Orkneys.

His death. The mightiest of the earls. Earl Harold's children. 1214.

II.

THE BURNING OF BISHOP ADAM.

From the Flatey Book.

A.D. 1222. Bishop John of Caithness oppresses the free-men.

When bishop John died in Caithness, he whom earl Harold caused to be maimed, a man called Adam was chosen bishop in his stead; and no one knew his stock, for the child had been found at some church-door. The Caithnesingers thought him rather hard in the bishoprick; and they laid most of the blame of that on a monk who was with him. It was an old custom that the bishop should have a span of butter for every thirty kine; this each householder was to pay who was in Caithness; he more who had more kine, but he less according to his means; and each was to pay according to the tale of his kine. But bishop Adam wished to raise the tax and have a span for every fifteen kine; and when he got that he claimed to have it for every twelve kine; and when that was given up he wished to have it for every ten kine. But that all thought something unheard of. Then the Caithnesingers fared to find earl John, he was then in Caithness, and raised this matter with him. The earl said he could give them no advice; and beside that he thought it concerned him very little; he said two bad things were before them; that it was unbearable, but said he could not suggest another choice. Bishop Adam was then at the High-church [Halkirk] in Thorsdale, but earl John was a little way off. The Caithnesingers then held a Thing on the fell above the homestead in which the earl was. Rafn the law-man was then with the bishop, and he prayed the bishop rather to spare the men, also he said he was afraid how things might go. The bishop bade him be quiet, and said the freemen would calm down of themselves. Then a message was sent to earl John with a prayer that he

They ask advice of earl John who will not give any.

would reconcile the bishop and the freemen; but the earl would come never near the spot. Then the freemen ran down from the fell and fared hotly and eagerly. And when Rafn the law-man saw that he bade the bishop devise some plan to save himself. He and the bishop were drinking in a loft. And when the freemen came to the loft, the monk went out at the door; and was straightway smitten across the face, and fell down dead inside the loft. And when the bishop was told that he answered: "That had not happened sooner than "was likely, for he was always making our matters "worse." Then the bishop bade Rafn tell the freemen that he wished to be reconciled with them. But when this was told to the freemen, all those among them who were wiser were glad to hear it. Then the bishop went out and meant to be reconciled. But when the worse kind of men saw that, those who were most mad, they seized bishop Adam, and brought him into a little house, and set fire to it. But the house burnt so quickly that they who wished to save the bishop could do nothing. Thus bishop Adam died, and his body was little burnt when it was found. Then a fitting grave was bestowed on it and a worthy burial. But those men who had been the greatest friends of the bishop, they then sent men to find the king of Scots. Alexander was then king of Scots, the son of king William the saint. But when the king was ware of these tidings . . . . . so ill that men have those miseries in mind which he wrought after the burning of the bishop in maiming of men and manslaying, and loss of goods and banishment of men out of the land.

A.D. 1222. The freemen take the law into their own hands, and burn the bishop.

Alexander king of Scots takes vengeance on them for the deed.

And now we cannot tell more certainly of those tidings which belong to the earls of the Orkneyingers than just as we have said.

III.

From PETER CLAUSON UNDAL'S Translation of the lost "INGA SAGA"; also called the CROZIERMENS' SAGA.

A.D. 1209–10. The Birchshanks and the Croziermen agree, and set out sea-roving.

There arose a great noise both among the Birchshanks and the Croziermen, for that there were many famous men who had lost all their goods and money in that feud. Then that plan was devised that the summer after they should set off west into the Southern isles a sea-roving, and get them goods and money again. And they fitted out ships on both sides. Peter Steypir and Reider the messenger who had to wife Margaret daughter of king Magnus, Erling's son, became brothers-in-arms that they might sail out to Jerusalem the next coming summer, and with that they parted.[1]

Sometime after this atonement many asked leave on both sides; some went home to their houses and farms, and some on trading voyages, and the next spring after then both Birchshanks and Croziermen sailed with

[1] The Icelandic text to this first paragraph is preserved in the abridged Ingi's Saga in Eirspennil (Unger's Ed., p. 235). The following is a translation of the passage:—

"Then arose a noise in either "band from those men who had "lost their money and yet had "titles to rank. Then that counsel "was taken that afterwards in the "spring they should harry in the "Southern isles and get them "money. Then men were chosen "for this out of each band. Then "too they, Peter Steypir and "Reider the messenger, also took "counsel; he, Reidar, had to wife "Margaret, a daughter of king "Magnus. They proposed to fare "out to Jerusalem. Then they "parted, having made this agree-"ment." And in another passage it is said:—"That summer they "fared on a Viking-voyage into "the Southern isles, Thormod "thasram and Thormod foal-leg, "and Ospak the southislander. "These were of the Birchshanks. "But of the Croziermen was Eric "Tofi's son and Erlend pike, Berg "muncher, and Nicholas gill y "They had twelve ships. One "winter later they fared away "out of the land, Peter Steypir "(the stouper, cup-bearer?) and "Reider, and had two ships. And "neither of them came back." See Munch. N.H. III. 539–544.

twelve ships a sea-roving in the Western lands and harried on the Southern isles, and the neighbouring isles, for the kings in those isles had domestic feud with one another. They plundered the Holy Island (Iona) which the Northmen have always held sacred. After that they fell out among one another and parted, and so were beaten in various places. And they who came back to Norway were sharply spoken to by the bishops for their plunderings. A.D. 1210. They plunder Iona.

That summer Peter Steypir and Reider the messenger left the land with two big ships and much folk, and their wives Ingibjorg and Margaret king Magnus' daughter followed with them. Of their journey much is told. Peter Steypir and his wife died on the journey, but Reider got to Jerusalem and went back again to the Emperor in Constantinople, and served him long and died there. Peter Steypir and Reider the messenger sail for the Holy Land.

In king Sverrir's time, Torald (!) the son of earl Maddad in Orkney with many more there in the isles had risen up against him, and called themselves the Island lads. And when the earl became reconciled again to king Sverrir, then all the land tax and fines in suits from Orkney and Shetland were to fall to the king in Norway; and the king set his bailiff by name Arni Löria with the earl in Orkney, and earl Harold durst not say a word against him so long as king Sverrir lived; but straightway after his death he caused Arni Löria to be treacherously slain, and laid Orkney and Shetland under him again, with all scatts and dues just as he had them before; and he died two years after king Ingi was made king in Norway. After that his sons John and David became earls in Orkney, and they held the lands like their father so long as there was domestic feud in Norway; but when they heard that the kings were reconciled they sent bishop Björn to Norway. He found king Ingi and earl Hacon in Bergen, and made known to them the earls' errand that they desired to be reconciled to them; and it got so far that he took leave on their behalf from the king and the earl, that Earl Harold and king Sverrir. 1194. Earl Harold puts Arne Löria to death. John and David earls in Orkney.

A.D. 1210. the earls should come to them the summer after and be reconciled to them.

Earls John and David reconciled with king Ingi.

That summer when the vikings, that is Norse sea-rovers, fared west over the sea, and after the kings' atonement, then the king's officers fared with him (the bishop) to Orkney and Shetland; and the next summer after the earls and the bishop came with them to Norway to be reconciled with the king and the earl; and they left the whole business to the good pleasure of the king and earl. They doomed them to pay a large sum of money, and besides they had to give them pledges and hostages, and swear to them faithfulness and obedience; but at last king Ingi made them his earls over Orkney and Shetland with such conditions as were afterwards kept until their deathday.

King Rognvald and king Godred of Man reconciled to king Ingi.

King Rognvald of Man in the Southern isles and Godred king of Man had not for a long time paid the kings of Norway taxes. Now when the Norse vikings had swarmed about among the isles and plundered and burnt, and the kings learnt that peace was made in Norway, then they were afraid and set off to Norway, and were reconciled with king Ingi and earl Hacon, and paid the taxes which were owing, and swore faith and obedience to them, and took their lands as fiefs of the king of Norway, and so sailed home again.

Erling in Fœroe claims to be king Sverrir's son.

There was a man called Erling in Fœroe, he gave himself out as king Sverrir's son; his mother was Astrid the daughter of Roi. He set out with some followers for the isles and wrought great wrong and strife. He had seven children, and afterwards he sailed to Norway on board Einar the steward's ship, and betook himself to Philip and the Lady Christine. She received him well and owned him for her brother; and some years afterwards he died of bleeding after he had let himself be bled.

THE SAGA OF SAINT MAGNUS,

OR

THE SAGA OF MAGNUS EARL OF THE ISLES.

MAGNUS' SAGA THE LONGER.

Praise glory and splendour and honour be to Almighty God, our redeemer and maker, for his manifold mercy and grace, which he bestows on us who dwell on the uttermost edge of the world; so that after the saying of the masters who so set it in their books, it seems to them as though we were come out of the world. And yet all the same though it be so, God hath deigned to show us his mercy, especially in that he hath let us come to the knowledge of his blessed name; and therewith given us strong pillars, the most saintly forerunners of holy Christianity, from whose holiness the whole North shines and beams near and far. These are, the saint king Olaf, and the exalted Hallvard his kinsman, who adorn Norway with their halidoms; the worshipful Magnus, the Isle-earl, who brightens the Orkneys with his holiness, to whose honour the aftercoming Saga is put together. Herewith are the blessed bishops John and Thorlak, who have enlightened Iceland with the exalted shining of their bright worthiness. By this it may be seen that we are not far off from God's mercy, though we be far off from other peoples in our abode in the world; and therefore we are bound to pay Him thanks, honour and reverence all the time of our life.

God's mercy in giving the North great Saints.

Master Robert, who hath collected and composed the Saga of the holy earl Magnus in Latin, so begins his Prologue as may here be heard.

Prologue of Master Robert to the Saga of earl Magnus.

2. Each one bringeth such things as he hath means to bring into the tabernacle of God, as a help to mercy for himself. One gold, others silver, some gem-stones, some goats hair and red buckskin; and such offerings are not

Prologue of Master Robert.

to be contemptuously esteemed, for of such is made the covering over the tabernacle of God, to shield it and keep it from wet and sun-heat. These words may be so glossed with few words. Let every christian man offer to God of the gifts and grants which He hath bestowed on him, what he hath best. That God's christianity is the tabernacle that Moses made for God's service, denotes its worth as a shelter and support against the onslaughts of his foes. Gold denotes wit and wisdom; silver chastity; gem-stones the miracles of holy men; goatshair the repentance of sins; red buckskin martyrdom. Now the man who reads may so make up his mind, that all these offerings hath the holy Magnus offered to his Lord, as the story of his life witnesseth. Now though the praise of God be not seemly in sinful man's mouth, still it may be profitable and helpful to others; for we so read that the whole house was filled with the sweetest savour of the ointment and spices of that sinful woman, who in penitence fell down to wash and anoint the Lord's feet. But after the bad fashion of those men who cultivate others' lands, but neglect their own and let them lie dry, so we begin this story about the life of earl Magnus the saint all the more trustfully and lovingly, and we bestow our toil on such holy and sublime knowledge, because we trust on and thoroughly look for his help to stay and strengthen us to his worship and honour. Now for that he is a partaker in the kingdom of heaven, and hath entered into the power of the Lord, so is he mighty to obtain all that he willeth. But for that we are sinful, and for the sake of our wretched life are not able to set others good examples of ourselves, so we show [saint Magnus with his fameful life, which all are bound to follow, and take holy patterns from. Now that we may not make trouble to our readers by this discourse, for the Lord made short discourses, so we make this story plain with clear words and pure telling, as God hath granted us to discern.

3. In the days of Harold Sigurd's son king of Norway there ruled as earls over the Orkneys two brothers, Paul and Erlend, sons of earl Thorfinn, who has been the mightiest of all the earls of the Orkneyingers. He was the son of earl Sigurd, whom king Olaf Tryggvi's son christened and all the folk in the Orkneys. This Sigurd fell in Brian's battle in Ireland. The mother of those two Paul and Erlend was Ingibjörg, who was called earlsmother, the daughter of earl Finn Arni's son; but Harold Sigurd's son had to wife Thora the daughter of Thorberg Arni's son, the mother of Olaf the quiet, and in that way they were second cousins, king Olaf and the aforesaid earls. Earl Erlend had to wife that woman whose name was Thora, she was Summerled's daughter, the son of Ospak. The mother of Ospak was Thordis the daughter of Hall of the Side. Egill was the name of a son of the aforenamed Hall; his daughter was Thorgerda, the mother of Saint John, bishop of Holar. The sons of earl Erlend and Thora were these, Saint Magnus and Erling, but their daughters were Gunnhilda and Cecilia. Kol Kali's son, a liegeman in Norway, afterwards had Gunnhilda to wife; their son was Rognvald-Kali, who became afterwards earl in the Orkneys; he is a thoroughly saintly man; Rognvald-Kali was a sister's son of earl Magnus the saint. Earl Paul the brother of Erlend had to wife a daughter of earl Hacon Ivar's son and Ragnhilda the daughter of king Magnus the good, son of the saint-king Olaf. Paul's son's name was Hacon, who afterwards comes into the story. The parentage and ancestry of the Saint earl Magnus.

4. Saint Magnus the earl was born in the Orkneys, the most noble of race and the most famous of kindred, His father Erlend was earl of the Orkneys, a worshipful lord and chief, honoured in power and esteem, as is the wont of those who live mightily on this earth. His mother Thora was sprung from the most noble chiefs of that land. But though to many good birth might turn to pride and spoiling of temper, this blessed youth was already in the first offshoot of his childhood bright and learned by the teaching of the Holy Spirit; for he His birth in the Orkneys. His piety, gentleness, and goodness in his youth.

held to and loved, valued and kept, the highest power of the mind, sweetness of temper and soberness of morals, and the steadiness of honourable habits. This youth showed himself old in good behaviour, shareless of childish life in his deeds, gladspoken and blithe, gentle in his loving words, and yielding and reasonable in his conduct and in all his doings. Well mature and self-restrained, so that nothing was found in his dealings that might hurt or shock men who beheld him. He was soon put to school to learn holy writings, and all that other knowledge which men were then most wont to know. Magnus was docile and obedient, pliant and attentive to his father and mother and his masters; kind and pleasant to the whole people. He cared little for loose company and games like other young men, but rather showed himself of seemly conduct, though he were young in the tale of winters; because at once was revealed in him the evident gift of the Holy Spirit, which guided him to all good things.

Paul and Erlend earls in the Orkneys.

5. When those brothers, Paul and Erlend, had taken the power in the Orkneys, king Harold Sigurd's son, came from the east from Norway with a mighty host to the Orkneys, and left there behind him queen Elizabeth, and Maria and Ingigerda his daughters. The earls made them ready to go along with the king with a great host, and they held on south for England; and in that battle which they fought against king Harold Godwin's son, Harold Sigurd's son fell five nights after the feast of St. Matthew in the autumn. After this battle Olaf the quiet, Harold's son, sailed with the earls that autumn back to the Orkneys. And that same day and at that hour on which king Harold fell in England, his daughter Maria died a sudden death in the Orkneys; and it is the saying of men that they both had one life between them. Olaf the quiet was the winter over in the Orkneys, and he was the dearest friend of the earls his kinsmen, for they were brothers' daughters, Thora the mother of Olaf and Ingibjörg the mother of the earls. Olaf fared in the spring east to Norway, and

Battle of Stamford Bridge. 1066.

there he was taken to be king with his (brother) Magnus.

6. Those brothers, Paul and Erlend, ruled the Orkneys a long while, and their agreement was a long time good. But when their sons began to grow up, then Hacon and Erling got to be very overbearing men, but Magnus was the quietest and best behaved of them in every way. All those kinsmen were tall and strong, and proper men in all things. Hacon, Paul's son, wished to be ruler over the sons of Erlend, because he thought himself greater by birth than they; for that he was the daughter's son of earl Hacon, Ivar's son, and Ragnhilda, the daughter of king Magnus the good, as was shown before, and Hacon would have the higher hand in all their dealings. Then it so fell out, that they could not agree peacefully together, for many men leaned towards the sons of Erlend, and would not let them bear the lower lot there in the isles; for they were better friends with all the people and more beloved of men; Hacon harboured many a grudge for this all his life long. So then there was risk with the earl's sons. Then their fathers took part in the matter with them, that they should make things up. Then a meeting was summoned; and it was soon found out that each of the earls leaned towards his sons, and they could not agree; thenceforth arose great discord between those brothers, and they parted as things stood. Then next after that men came between them to try to make peace, and then a meeting was summoned between them in Hrossey. At that meeting peace was agreed to between them on these terms, that the isles were shared into halves; then things stood so for a while. Hacon Paul's son pressed hard on those men who served Erlend and his sons, so that they thought things could not stand thus, and so it came about again that they became at variance, and marched against one another with a great force. Havard Gunni's son and other chiefs and friends of the earls then tried to bring about an atonement between them; but Erlend and his sons would not then take any terms, so that Hacon

Quarrels between the sons of Paul and Erlend.

Hacon the most quarrelsome.

The people side with Erlend and his sons.

For the sake of peace Hacon is banished, and fares to Norway and Sweden. circa 1090.

should be there in the isles. But for that their friends thought that there was much to answer for if they were at variance, then Hacon fared away out of the isles at once; and then an atonement was brought about between those brothers by the counsel of good men and true. Hacon fared first east to Norway to see king Olaf the quiet, that was toward the end of his days; there he stayed a short while. Thence he fared east to Sweden to see king Ingi Steinkel's son, and was with him some while well received. Then christianity was young in Sweden; there were many men there who went about with witchcraft, and so thought that they would become wiser as to many things which had not yet come to pass. King Ingi was a good christian, and took great pains in rooting out those bad customs which had long followed heathendom.

King Ingi's zeal for christianity.

Hacon goes to consult a wizard in Sweden.

7. When Hacon Paul's son was in Sweden, he had heard say that there in the land was a man who went about with wisdom and spaedom, whether it were by witchcraft or other things. Hacon had a great longing to find out this man, and to know whether he could be made wise as to his future fate. Then he fared to look for that man, and found him at last in a woodland district; there he used to go about to feasts, and told the freemen about their crops and other things which they were curious to know. But when Hacon found that man, then he asked him how he might come to power or other good luck. The wizard asks him what manner of man he might be. He tells him his name and kin, that he was the daughter's son of earl Hacon Ivar's son. Then answers the wizard: "Why wilt thou get from "me wisdom or sayings? Knowest thou not that those "former kinsmen of thine have had little faith in such "like men as I am. And it may serve thy turn that "thou shouldest seek to know thy fate from Olaf the "stout, in Norway, thy kinsman, whom ye set all faith "in. But I rather doubt that he would not have lowly-"mindedness enough to tell thee what thou art eager to "know, or perhaps be not so powerful either as ye say he

His talk with the wizard.

" is." Hacon answers: " I will not blame him; I think " it more likely that I may not have worthiness enough " to get wisdom from him, than that he should not be able " to make me wise, if he would. But this is why I have " come to see thee, because it hath come into my mind that " here neither of us twain will need to look down upon " the other for the sake of matters of virtue or belief." A.D. c. 1091.

That man answers: " It likes me well that I find that " thou dost not think that thou hast all trust where thy " kinsmen of yore had faith. Wonderful it is, too, that " those men who strive after such things go about with " fasts and wakes, and deem that therefore those things " must be granted to them which they are eager to know. " But though ye take such pains, yet are ye all the less " wise the more curious ye are to know those things " which it is worth your while to know; but we lay " ourselves under no torments, and yet we are always " wise as to those things of which our friends think it " worth while to know. Now things will so go with " us two that thou shalt get this gain from me, as I see " clearly that thou thinkest thyself better able to get " the truth from me than from king Ingi's priestly " teachers, whom he thinks he may put all trust in. " Thou shalt come to me in three nights' space, and then " we two will try if I can tell thee any of these things " which thou art eager to know." After that they parted, and Hacon stayed there in those parts. And when three nights were gone by he fared to meet the wizard. He was then in a certain house all alone, and drew his breath heavily when he [Hacon] went in, and stroked his brow with his hand, and said it had cost him much ere he became wise of those things which he wished to know beforehand. Hacon said he was then willing to hear what he had to say. He then said: " If thou wilt " know thy fate, then is it long to tell about, and about " thy life; for that from thy voyage west to the Orkneys " very great tidings will come to pass when everything " hath been fulfilled which will follow from it. And it " is my belief that thou wilt come to be sole chief over

The wizard consents to tell his fortune.

Hacon returns after three nights, and the wizard tells him that he will rule over the Orkneys, but that he will commit great wickedness.

A.D. 1091–4.

" the Orkneys in the end; may be that thou wilt think " it long. I trow also that thy offspring will dwell " there. Thou wilt also in thy days let that wickedness " be done, which thou must either make atonement for " or not to that God in whom thou believest. But thy " footsteps lie further out into the world than I can get " to see; but still I think that thou wilt bring back thy " bones here to the northern half of the world. Now " have I told thee those things that I can at this time, " but say thou how thou likest thy lot or errand." Hacon answers: " A great story is this thou tellest, if it be " sooth; but I think it will go better with me, as it " may well be that thou hast not seen all this of a " truth." The spaeman bade him believe as much of it as he chose. And after that they parted.

Hacon refuses to believe him, and they part.

Hacon returns to Norway to see his kinsman king Magnus barelegs.

And when Hacon had been a short time with king Ingi, then he fared thence to Norway to see king Magnus barelegs his kinsman. There he learned those tidings from the Orkneys, that earl Erlend and his sons had most of the rule there, and were very much beloved, but earl Paul his father had very little share in the rule. He thought too that he made out that the Orkneyingers would long little for his coming thither west; then they had good peace, and feared, if Hacon came, that from him would arise strife and uproar; and Hacon thought it not unlikely that his kinsmen would hold the realm against him. He took that counsel to ask from his kinsman king Magnus, that he would put him into his realm in the Orkneys.

He eggs on king Magnus to harry in the western lands.

Hacon egged king Magnus on much to lead a host to Scotland and Ireland, and after that to England, to avenge there king Harold Sigurd's son. The king answers: " That must thou bear in mind, Hacon, if I " do this for the sake of thy words, to fare with a " host across the sea west, that it shall not take thee " unawares though I bore on with a bold claim to those " lands which lie there west across the main, and make " there no distinction of persons." But when Hacon heard that he grew cold, and said little more about it;

but king Magnus then made them call out the levies in full numbers of men and ships over all Norway. A.D. 1098.

8. Now next after this we must turn back to the holy Magnus the hero of our Saga; for a little before ye heard how virtuous he was in all his behaviour, and unlike other young men in his growing up. But for that many turn their customs after those with whom they live, and whosoever toucheth tar is defiled of it; so when Magnus had come to be about fullgrown of age, placed among grim and wicked men who were ill-willed against good habits, unstable in the faith, opposed to right laws, stiff-necked in learning, yielding to evil habits, gainsayers and disobedient to God's commandments; he seemed for some winters like wicked men, and as a viking with robbers and warriors he lived by robbery and plunder, and stood by at manslaughters along with others. But it is to be believed that he did this more from the wickedness and egging on of bad men than from his own badness. Men think it likeliest that Magnus did this at that time when he and Hacon and Erling his kinsmen were all together in the Orkneys, for afterwards no time can be found for it. About this his behaviour master Robert thus speaks, who has composed the story.

The Saga returns to Magnus and his virtues.

He falls under temptation.

"Ho ho! I wonder," says he, "how unspeakable is "the deepness of the riches of godly knowledge and "of the Lord's wisdom; how inexplicable are his "decrees, and how inscrutable are his ways to the "race of man. Why did the allruling God allow this "his servant to let himself be greedy for robbery and "manslaughter, and to be defiled by so manifold sins "and misdeeds? Why did God's goodness suffer his "knight and martyr to let himself fall so fearfully, "which from the beginning elected to crown him "sublimely in heaven? With joy and gladness God "enriched him, and turned his dust into heavenly "glory, and gave him everlasting comfort after this "world's woe; the cloak of good fortune and praise "after the stripes of the heart. What is this? but

Master Robert's sermon.

Master Robert's sermon.

" that which we have seen every day as manifestly as
" gloriously, that God raises up and makes sons to
" Abraham out of stones, righteous out of wrong-doers,
" honest out of sinners, glorious out of mortals—(stones)
" smooth and polished, and four-cornered, with four
" main virtues, that they may be made to fit into the
" heavenly edifice, as strong and steadfast cornerstones
" in Jesus Christ our head stone of the corner; of one
" mind with him, and of the same temper with ever-
" lasting affection and the link of endless love. For
" the Lord Jesus is the son of the great builder, who
" made and makes the world, and all that is therein,
" and rules it after his will; and he changes the vessels
" of his wrath into vessels of mercy, polishing them
" with the file of the Holy Spirit; and he receives sinful
" men into the widest bosom of his pity and mercy, all
" those who leave off their naughtiness and turn to
" him with their whole heart. For it belongs to the
" great glory and mercy of the Lord that he lets the
" abundance of his mercy there be shown, where before
" the great weight of our wretchedness is in the way;
" and he tendeth and healeth all the more powerfully
" when the sickness already more hotly attacks the sick
" man, and he makes them all whole and holpen who
" look to him for help. See at last, how the holy Mag-
" nus, though he was entangled in such sins, yet came
" to leave off those pursuits, and followed his father and
" brother and the liegemen in the Orkneys."

A.D. 1098. King Magnus barelegs comes to the Orkneys, seizes earls Erlend and Paul, and sends them to Norway.

9. At that time which we have reached in the story king Magnus barelegs came from the east out of Norway, with a countless multitude of ships and force of warriors. Him followed many of his liegemen; Vidkun Johnson, Sark of Sogn, Kali of Agdir the son of Seabear, and Kol his son, and many other chiefs. The king meant in this voyage to lay under him and to harry the western lands, England and Ireland, as was before mentioned. When king Magnus came to the Orkneys, he seized the earls Erlend and Paul, and forced them away from the isles, and sent them east to Nor-

way; but he set his son Sigurd over the Orkneys, and gave him councillors, for he was not older than nine winters. King Magnus settled that the sons of the earls should fare with and attend him; Magnus and Erling the sons of Erlend, and Hacon Paul's son. Magnus the son of earl Erlend was a tall man of growth, quick and gallant, and strong of body, fair to look on, lighthued, and well-limbed, noble in aspect, and the most courteous in all his behaviour; him king Magnus made his waiting-swain, and he always served at the king's board. King Magnus fared out of the Orkneys to the Southern isles, and he won in that voyage all the Southern Isles under his sway, and seized Logman the son of Godred, king of the Southern isles. Thence he fared south under Wales, and had there a great battle in Anglesea-sound, with two Welch earls, Hugh the stout, and Hugh the proud. But when men were getting out their weapons, and busked them to battle, then Magnus Erlend's son sat him down in the fore-room, where he was wont to be, and did not arm himself. The king asked him why he did so. Saint Magnus answers, "I have here no quarrel with any man, and "that is why I will not fight." "Get away then," says the king, "down under the planks, but do not lie here "under the feet of men if thou darest not to fight, for I "do not think that faith drives thee to do this." Magnus the earl's son sat in the same place, and took a psalter, and sung out of it during the battle, but did not shield himself. This battle was both hard and long. But at last Hugh the proud fell, but the Welchmen fled, and king Magnus got the victory, but he had lost many good men, and a number were wounded. Kali Sea-bear's son had got many and great wounds. Magnus the son of Erlend had not been wounded in the battle, though he had not shielded himself, and all may see that it was the fairest token that in so thick flights of arrows, and strong showers of shafts, he should not be wounded, though on all sides of him armed men fell. And now this need not be wondered at, for God

A.D. 1098. Their sons he makes his pages.

King Magnus harries in the Southern isles and in Wales.

He wins a battle in Anglesea-sound.

Magnus Erlend's son will not fight, and will not shield himself, but comes out of the battle unhurt.

A.D. 1098–9.

has kept him for a greater crown and victory than to fall there. King Magnus was not moved by aught of these things, and he laid great feud and dislike on Magnus the earl's son for this. And when saint Magnus saw that it would neither be for his honour nor for his soul's help to be any longer with king Magnus, then he took another counsel for himself to do that which God taught him.

Magnus Erlend's son steals away from the king, and escapes to king Malcolm's court.

10. It fell on a night when king Magnus lay off Scotland, that Magnus Erlend's son stole off from the king's ship, and so made up his berth that it seemed as though a man lay there. But next morning when the king was clad, he asked whether Magnus Erlend's son were sick. Then enquiry was made for him, and he was missed. The king made them look for him, and still he was not found. Then the king let the slot hounds run loose on land. Magnus, the earl's son had hurt his foot when he was running on land, and the slot-hounds had found the trail at once. Magnus had taken to the wood, and he had got up into a tree. The hounds came to the oak, and stood upon their hindlegs round it. Then Magnus smote one of them with a staff, which he had hold of, but they betook them to flight at once, and laid their tails behind them, and ran off to the ships. Magnus Erlend's son hid himself in the wood while the king's men hunted for him. After that he fared up the country, and came forth at the court of Malcolm, the Scot-king, and stayed there awhile, but sometimes he was in Wales with a certain bishop. That same autumn king Magnus fared back to the Southern isles, and was there the winter over. That winter Kali Seabear's son breathed his last of his wounds. Next spring, early, king Magnus fared to the Orkneys. There he heard of the deaths of the earls out of Norway; Erlend had died in Drontheim, and was there buried, but Paul at Bergen. Then king Magnus gave away in marriage Gunnhilda, earl Erlend's daughter, the sister of Saint Magnus, to Kol the son of Kali, as an atonement for the loss of his father, together with great

Death of earls Paul and Erlend.

Gunnhilda sister of Saint Magnus given

possessions in the Orkneys. Then Kol became the liegeman of the king; their son was Rognvald-Kali. Some men say that Erling, the son of Erlend, brother of Saint Magnus, has fallen in Anglesea-sound, but Snorri Sturluson says he has fallen in Ulster with king Magnus. For when king Magnus had ruled Norway nine winters, he fared west to Ireland with a great host, and the summer after he fell in Ulster on the feast of Saint Bartholomew. But Sigurd his son fared straightway out of the Orkneys east to Norway, and was there taken to be king with his brothers Eystein and Olaf.

away to Kol, Kali's son.

Death of king Magnus barelegs. His sons Sigurd Eystein and Olaf, kings of Norway. 1102–3.

11. Now ye heard in the former chapter how Almighty God is ready to have mercy, whose especial goodness is ever to pity and to turn trouble to comfort and help; and how he kept this his chosen champion from the woes and worry of the world, to reveal to him, and to show him how great things it behoved him to suffer for his name; and that he who had often stood by at great manslayings, should at last become an offering of the Holy Spirit, and give to God his own blood with life and body. And that was why he came out of the power of the greedy king as was read before.

When the holy Magnus was in Scotland he learnt the death of earl Erlend his father, and those other tidings which before were written. And when he had been such time at the court of the Scot-king as liked him, honoured of the king with gifts and noble company, he fared to Caithness, and was there worthily received of all, kept and cared for, and at once chosen and honoured with the title "earl," beloved and worshipful to all the friends of God.

Magnus Erlend's son hears of his father's death. He goes to Caithness and assumes the title of earl.

12. And next to that without tarrying the saint earl Magnus became Paul out of Saul, a preacher out of a manslayer, and he avenged it on himself that he had lived an ill life. He fell to weeping himself dead to sin with daily wailing and steadfast remorse; and he now took fitting vengeance in manifold penance on the sinful lusts of his wretched flesh. Then he seemed to become a new man, who is changed into what is honourable

His remorse and conversion.

A.D. 1106. to God; and he turned into another man, into a good from a bad man, into a sober from a sinful, into a saint from a sinner, into a blessed and pure man from a defiled man. This is the conversion of thy right hand, Almighty God. Thou art strong to strengthen, gracious to help, ready to better, excellent to keep. In this wise was the holy Magnus changed into a saintly man. He began to ear the earth of his heart with the sharp share of confession. Then he slew his unlucky adversary and hid him under the sand. Then he buried Laban's idols under the treeroots. He tore up out of himself sins and defilements, and clad him in sublime strength in godly desires with manful steadfastness. Then he began to wax as an olivetree, and was uplifted in all good things and worthy works. Just as the cypress is above other trees, so waxed the holy Magnus, that he might be as "*magnus*," that is "great," in godliness, as he was in name, uprising in good fortune and holiness.

Saint Magnus "great" both by name and nature.

13. One winter or two after the fall of king Magnus barelegs, Hacon Paul's son came from the west across the sea to Norway, and the king gave him the title of earl and such power as his birth might claim. Then he fared west over the sea, and took under him all the realm in the Orkneys with so much greed and aggression that he slew the guiltless steward of the king of Norway, who held and looked after that half of the isles which Saint Magnus owned, and in that way laid under him all the Orkneys with violence; for half the isles fell to Saint Magnus by inheritance from his father. Now when Saint Magnus heard of such tumult, that his first cousin Hacon was taking under him his inheritance with open wrong, he held counsel with his men what should be done. It was agreed with them that he shall bide for a time till the wrath and greed of his kinsman Hacon were soothed, and that it should not be shown that he sought his inheritance after warriors' wise, but rather as the friend and dear lover of law and justice.

Hacon Paul's son becomes earl of the Orkneys, and seizes the inheritance of earl Magnus.

14. But when that time is come that Saint Magnus will seek his heritage, then he fares with a goodly

Saint Magnus waits a

company from Caithness to the Orkneys, and friends and kinsmen are alike glad to see him. Then he begged to take his father's heritage. That was well pleasing to the freemen, for he was blessed with many friends; he had many kinsmen and connexions who were ready to support him to power. His mother Thora was then married to that man whose name was Sigurd, they had a great homestead in Paplay. When earl Hacon heard that Magnus was come into the isles, he gathered force to him, and would not give up the realm, but rather defend it. Then the friends of both came between them and tried to reconcile them. Then it so came about by the help of good men and true, that it was agreed that earl Hacon should give up half the realm, if that were the award of the kings of Norway. Then Magnus Erlend's son fared at once east to Norway to seek king Eystein, for king Sigurd had then set out for Jewry. King Eystein received lord Magnus excellently well, and gave up to him his father's inheritance, half the Orkneys, and with that he took the title of earl from the king, together with the most honourable gifts. And after that lord Magnus the earl fared west over the sea to his realm; and his friends and kinsfolk, and along with them all the people were fain of him. Then the kinship of Hacon and Magnus was very close many winters, so long as their friends took part in it. There was then peace and plenty in the Orkneys while their friendship lasted. Those kinsmen, lord Magnus the earl and Hacon, had both together the wardship of the land for some while, so that they were well agreed. It is so said in those songs which have been made on them, that they fought with that viking who harried their realm, whose name was Dufnjal; he was one degree further off than the earl's first cousin, and he fell before them. Thorbjorn was the name of a man mighty and noble for family's sake, but poor in good works, whom they cut off in Burrafirth in Shetland for good cause. And again they wrought many tidings which the songs point to, that they shared both to-

A.D. 1106–16. while, and then demands his father's heritage.

It is agreed that he and Hacon shall share the Orkneys between them.

They are good friends many years.

The joint deeds of earl Magnus and earl Hacon as warders of the land.

A.D. 1106–16.

gether, though we cannot speak plainly of them. These things Saint Magnus hath done not as a viking or robber, but rather as lawful ruler of the realm and a keeper of the laws, the lover of peace, to restrain bad customs of men and to chastise wrongdoing, to free and relieve his subjects and his realm from the pride and onslaughts of wicked men, who aye lay in wait to spoil the peace.

The character of earl Magnus as a ruler.

15. Lord Magnus was the most famous man in his chieftainship, of good habits and counsel, a fast friend and bold in fight, well skilled in arms, and victorious in battle, meek-tempered in peace, and yet fit to rule, humble in speech and merciful, a sage in wit, and having the praise of every one. He was generous of money, and open-handed to chiefs, he gave daily great help to poor men for God's love. He chastised much plunder and stealing, he let vikings and ill-doers be slain, as well powerful as poor. He was not given to side with his friends in his judgments; he set more store by God's law than the distinctions of rank. In all things he kept firmly God's commandments, and was unsparing towards himself. Many and famous were his virtues which he showed to God himself but hid from men.

His marriage with a noble Scottish lady. His chastity in wedlock.

But for that the earl Saint Magnus had rule and government over worldly folk, so he would be like worldly chiefs in the customs of this life; he took and betrothed unto himself a high-born lady and the purest maid of the noblest stock of Scotland's chiefs, and brought her home to him, and entered into wedlock with her. This the blessed Magnus did, as it was proved, by the deep-set plan of godly mercy, for the sake of damping the blithe temptations of this world, rather than to fulfil the lusts of his body, for he was holpen by godly guardianship and heavenly power. He abode ten winters by this maid pure and thoroughly lotless of all sins of defilement. But when he felt temptation coming on him to bodily lusts, then he went into cold water and prayed for help from God.

16. See here the stout champion of God in daily strife, how wondrously he lived with this maiden so long time. For that, though he might lawfully take pleasure with her, he would rather, stayed by the mercy of God, choose the better lot to live unspoilt, than to fulfil lawful wedlock; for they suffer the burning passions of the body who follow such things. Because it is better and more steadfast to keep flowers safe, than to cure those which are already spoilt; for no wound is as well healed as that flesh which has been kept whole. But to live in the body without the body's lusts, is not of man's power, but rather of God's gift. But what temptation and suffering he bore from the heat of the body, what heavy shafts of unlawful feeling, and in what hard strife he overcame and steadied the strong desires of glowing flesh, he knows who tries, but he that is untried doubts. See my dearest! this is that great sight which Moses saw, that bush blazing and not burning; that is so to be understood, this young man tempted but not overcome. But for that the apostle Paul so says that no one is crowned save he lawfully strives and manfully works for it, so this courtly chief and warlike knight chose thy courts,[1] to suffer daily strife, and the constant battle of the burning flesh. And he fought stoutly and conquered luckily, for it seemed to him that he will be too much a carpet knight who will first have the glory ere he accomplishes some doughty deed; for might is the way to glory, and glory is given by might. Guileful is that glory and false is that fairness which holy strength does not bring forth. And I wonder, says the scripture, how fair and desirable is pure begetting with its brightness and loveliness. This the exalted knight of God, girt with the belt of chastity, took pains with all the desire of his heart to further and fulfil all kinds of loving works to the honour of his Lord. For what could he refuse of this world's goods to his God, who gave his own life and body in pledge, and poured out his own blood for God's sake?

Praise of the purity of Saint Magnus.

[1] "Thy courts," *i.e.*, "God's courts."

Temptations and persecutions arise to try the steadfastness and faith of Saint Magnus.

17. Now, for that no man can be Abel, save he who tholes and proves the spite and envy of Cain; and as the holy Ezekiel dwelt with venomous men, and the righteous Lot was hard pressed of wrongful men; so the foe of the whole human race waked up temptation, and the heat of persecution on all sides against this knight of God, sowing discord and hatred between brothers and kinsfolk and dear friends, all that he might hinder him, and make those wonders of none effect, which then began to grow with him. But the branch of the godly vine might be moved, but not cut off; for as wood floats on water, and is turned over and over by the winds and waves, but sinks not, and just as "the Wain"[1] turns round in the heaven, but never sets; as gold is purified in the furnace, and burns not; and as a strong house is shaken of the storm and falls not: after that wise was the will and heart of this famous martyr strong and steadfast, unshaken and fearless amid the hot onslaughts and onset of manifold temptation, in the midst of storms and great breakers of hidden envy and guile, as well as of open wickedness and ill-will, against the shafts of the tempting foe.—Next after this it must be shown in what wise this discord came about between the earls.

By the guile of wicked men, earl Magnus and earl Hacon fall out. Hacon plots against his cousin's life.

18. When those kinsmen, Saint Magnus and earl Hacon, had ruled the land some winters with peace and good agreement, then that fell about which can often happen, that ill-willing men set themselves to spoil their kinship. Then wicked men gathered themselves around earl Hacon, for those kinsmen were very unlike in temper. The lord earl Magnus was good-hearted and trusty in his promises; he wished to hold the power that God had given him, and coveted naught beyond. For in what wise could he be proved to be greedy of other men's power or property, who was so free of his own body, that he spared not his own life for the love of God? He schooled and taught his subjects to right

[1] *i.e.*, 'Charles' Wain," the Bear, the well-known constellation.

conduct, so that after he had freed and saved his realm from the onslaughts of wicked vikings, he allowed none of his men to go on warfare, and sternly restrained all lawlessness and wickedness. But earl Hacon was hard-hearted and grim, greedy both of money and power, and more prone to egg on his men to warfare than to hinder them; but wickedness and ill-doing he punished little. He was very envious at the friendships and lordliness of saint Magnus; Hacon would willingly, with the greediness of his bad counsellors, hinder the honour of earl Magnus, and lay under him his realm by wrong and robbery, and Hacon began with his men to plot against his life with guileful schemes. A.D. c. 1111.

19. Now when the blessed Magnus has become thoroughly aware of this by many proofs, which he thinks cannot be hidden, that Hacon wished to get at his life and realm, then he took counsel with his advisers, and it seemed good to him to yield for a while to the envy and wrath of Hacon. He chose then out of his men those who were choicest and best fitted to follow him, and sailed to England and sought a meeting with king Henry son of William the bastard, who at that time was absolute king over England. When saint Magnus was come to this king, then he laid bare to him all the story and cause of his coming thither. And the king received him with great worship. And he rose up into such great friendship with the king, that he kept him and all his band at his own cost a whole twelvemonth nobly, as it beseemed a king to treat a noble duke. But this holy martyr kept himself and his followers so wisely that he was ware of and set his face against all fellowship with wicked men. And when the lord king skilled of his wisdom how earl Magnus was a doer of good works and of honourable habits, and that the Holy Spirit abode in him, then he listened willingly to his counsels, and had his foresight in his undertakings; for he was sound and safe in his discourse and counsels, blithe-hearted and long-suffering like Chusi, merry and loveable like Jonathan, a righteous

Saint Magnus yields before Hacon's plots, and retires to the court of king Henry of England, where he lives a year beloved and honoured by all.

A.D. c. 1112. zealot for the law like Phineas. He was so dear and so beloved by all, so pleasant and popular, that there were many who so spoke: "Blessed are they that saw thee, " and who flourished in thy friendship." He was gladsome and of good will towards great men, open-handed and liberal towards the poor, good-tempered and good-hearted and lowly-minded to all the people. And though he took his place at the court with worldly chiefs, still he was beware of and set his face against all kinds of lust, which spoil the habits of courtiers. And that he might not for the future fleck his chastity by consorting with other men's sins, he made ready to return home, as soon as those twelve months were past, which he had spent with king Henry. May be that God had revealed to him that he should close his toils within a short time, and so offer to God the pure flower of his chastity, by the triumphant death of his martyrdom. For to be set free from the body, and live with Christ, is far more glorious than to be here in the defilement of this world.

Saint Magnus returns to the Orkneys.

20. After that Saint Magnus had taken leave of king Henry, honoured and esteemed with rich gifts of many kinds, reverenced of the lord king, then they parted with the greatest love and friendship. Then he first visited all those holy shrines which were in the neighbourhood, and afterwards fared home to his own land. But during that time when the holy Magnus was abroad, earl Hacon laid under his rule with great greed and warfare not only all the Orkneys, but all Caithness as well, with robbery and wantoness; whence it came about that Hacon sat at that time in Caithness when the holy earl Magnus landed in the Orkneys with five ships well manned with bold and well-armed men, meaning to get back his realm, albeit with no wrong greed of this world's honour or of property which did not belong to him; least of all when he had already so long yearned for God, and was with the whole joy of his heart taken up from the greed of mortal things into the desire of eternal joys; and so he came now in a

In his absence earl Hacon had seized all the Orkneys, and Caithness.

A D. c. 1112.

little while to close his lifetime all the more worthily as he went sooner away. These tidings of his home-coming were soon heard on all sides. Earl Hacon eft-soons awaking as a grim she-bear robbed of her cubs, gathering together and summoning to him the sons of Belial, wicked ill-doers, and sons of the bad Dohet, who aye and aye wrought evil from the day they were born of their mother's womb. Hacon then meant to come unawares upon the holy Magnus, to work out and fulfil there and then his evil greed and the treachery which he already long had kept harboured in his heart. But the highest Heaven-king, who from the everlasting beginning determined that he would keep that his glorious chosen vessel among his treasures, saw in his chosen man still some rust of worldly behaviour that was to be cleansed away. For the God would that he should be cleansed and purified within a few days with the fire of suffering and insult, and with the frost of temptation and much opposition, though there were no mortal sins to wash off him. Then would God increase his worthiness if aught were lacking in it, that in the same proportion as his temptation and struggle were more and harder so the glory and bliss of the conqueror should be higher and more sublime. For that, it so came about that the earls sent with messages between them for peace and atonement their most trusty counsellors, who rightly betoken Chusi and Ahitophel, who brought about the atonement between king David and Absolom his son when they had fallen out. So at last this matter, by the intervention of good men, was so settled, that there an atonement was formed between those kinsmen in this wise, that the earldom of the Orkneys, Caithness, and Shetland should be equally divided between earls Magnus and Hacon; neither of them was to attack the other's realm with any greed. When this agreement had been settled and strengthened with oaths and hansels, then the earls met with the kiss of peace. But what saint Magnus thought to be peace, that Hacon turned to guile and plotting; and the longer he kept down the

On his return earl Hacon summons his wicked advisers to carry out his plans.

By the help of good men an agreement is brought about between saint Magnus and earl Hacon.

Earl Hacon's treachery.

A.D. 1112–16.

venom of his badness, the more basely he spewed it up; for his badness and villainy came forth with great force at the time when he could no longer hide it. In the same way as boils on the face give a man by so much the more pain as they be longer hidden in it, so fares it with all kinds of badness; the longer it festers in heart and mind, the grimmer it grows to do harm.

21. The holy Magnus then began again to rule his realm with peace and joy for some time, and that is most in God's sight how holily he lived in this biding-tide of his death; how he clothed himself with sublime force, and in forwarding all kinds of virtue, in prayers and shedding of tears, and in repentance of heart, in chastity and soberness, in almsgiving and all goodness towards his subjects, in penance and manifold sufferings which he bore on his body, and many more other good deeds than sinful man can call to mind. In the way in which God's saints do, in that way saint Magnus made him ready for his martyrdom, the telling of which we will next after this begin by God's will.

Covetousness leads earl Hacon to quarrel with saint Magnus.

22. When the aforesaid atonement and peace had been kept between the earls for some winters, then Hacon showed himself a traitor, pouring forth out of his breast great wrongfulness, which he had up to that time held back. Hearken how sooth is the judgment of the old poet so saying:—

> " Nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas
> " Inpatiens consortis erit, totum sitit illa."

Which says this: " Never can fellowship in this world's " power be safe, for all rulers can bear no rivals, and " will alone have all." By this ye may skill what kind of fruit guile brings forth, and what growths spring up of greed. All sins come of covetousness, and all unlawful desires proceed from greediness. That was proved with Ahab the most wrongful king, who persecuted Elias the prophet. That was shown by the most wicked Judas, who sold our Lord for a price. The very same showed the traitor earl Hacon, both by examples and plain proofs

in that treachery by which he beguiled his kinsman earl Magnus who trusted in him, though the events which led to their dealings and quarrel happened in sundry ways. A.D. 1116.

23. Two men were they with earl Hacon who are named as having been the worst of all in going between those kinsmen; the one's name was Sigurd, and the other Sighvat sock. Sigurd had a brother hight Thorstein, who was the doughtiest follower of earl Magnus. There were many others who had a bad share in those matters, and these were all with Hacon, for saint Magnus would not keep any backbiters in his following. These backbitings came to such a length that the earls drew force together and fared each against the other with a very great company. They both held on for Hrossey, for that was the place of meeting of the Orkneyingers. But when they came thither, then either side drew them up in array and busked them to battle. Then there had come together there all the great men with the earls, and many were friends of both, who did all they could to set them at one, and went between them with manliness and good-will. This meeting was in Lent. But for that many men their well-wishers took part in hindering difficulties between them, but would stand by neither to do the other a mischief, then they bound this their agreement with oaths and handsels, at the witness of the best men. It was so settled that they should meet in the spring at Egelsha (Egils-ey) after Easter. At this meeting each of the earls was to have two ships, and just as many men as the other. Both the earls bound that with oaths to have and to hold those terms of agreement which the best men should settle to utter between them at that meeting. And when this had been done each fared back to his home again. This preliminary of agreement and concord liked the holy Magnus right well, as he was thoroughly whole-hearted and of good conscience without all mistrust. But earl Hacon at this meeting had veiled his treachery and covered it with the cloud of falsehood; for he had made this agreement with guile and treachery

The earls march against each other, but are again reconciled.

They are to have a meeting at Egils-ey after Easter.

The honesty of saint Magnus, and the treachery of earl Hacon and his band of conspirators.

A.D. 1116. and full deceit, as was afterwards proved; for at that time Hacon and his band, who are rightly called the treasury of hidden wickedness, together with his unworthy thralls, had conspired together in the counsel of their badness for the death and murder of the holy Magnus. For that all evil is mighty and right dear to shameful company, they determine among themselves that this mischief shall now no longer be put off, and that now they will thoroughly slake their cruel thirst in the out-shedding of innocent blood. But the highest Lord of all power took care for his dear friend and chosen martyr that, as at that time ready for the kingdom of heaven, he should be taken out of this life under the heavy flail of sharp death. As the grapes in the winepress by being trodden on and crushed give off the purest wine in their season with great fragrance and sweet savour; so gave this the glorious martyr of God by reason of his death to all the friends of God and his own, the heavenly sweetness of godly mercy, from that glory and bliss which he hath obtained in the endless joy of everlasting life with God and his saints.

Earl Magnus goes to the meeting in good faith.

24. As soon as the holy time of Easter day was over, then each side made them ready to this meeting in unlike wise. The holy Magnus summoned to him all those men whom he knew had the best good-will to do a good turn to those kinsmen. He had two long-ships manned with the bravest men, just as many as were agreed on, and when he was boun he held on for Egelsha. But as they were rowing in still water and calm weather, then there rose a billow close to the ship in which the earl Magnus was, and broke over the ship where the earl sat. The chief men on board the ship of earl Magnus hight thus: Thorsteín, of whom we spoke before, Arnkell, Grim, and Gilli, and many other doughty men. They wondered much at the hap that a billow fell on them in a calm where no man had ever known a billow to fall before, and where the water under was deep. Then saint Magnus said: "It is not strange though ye wonder at "this, but my thought is, that this hap is a foreboding

Portents by the way.

Earl Magnus nevertheless

" of my life's end; may be that may happen here which A.D. 1116.
" was before spaed, that earl Paul's son would work the resolves to keep tryst.
" greatest wickedness; may be that Hacon is plotting
" treachery against us at this meeting." The men of earl Magnus were much afraid at these words, when he said he had so short hope as to his life's end, and bade him to shelter himself and be wary of his life, and not go on trusting in earl Hacon. Saint Magnus answers:
" I will of a surety fare to this meeting as hath been
" agreed on, and bring no reproach that I have broken
" my word on me for the sake of my foreboding alone.
" And may all be done after God's will as to our voyage.
" But if I may have any choice, then I would much
" rather thole wrong than do wrong to another man. So
" may God let my kinsman Hacon get forgiveness though
" he may do wrong to me."

Now we must tell of earl Hacon that he summoned to him a great band of warriors. He had seven or eight war-ships all large, filled with men; all that company were well boun as though they were running out to battle. But when the force came together, the earl made it clear to his men that that meeting should so settle matters between earl Magnus and him that they should not thenceforth both of them be over the realm. Many of the earl's men, who might soothly be called the sons of the Devil, showed themselves well pleased at this purpose, and added to it many fearful words; but they, Sigurd and Sighvat sock, were then still among the worst in utterance, who aye and aye were egging on to ill. Then men fell to rowing hard, and they fared hotly and furiously. Havard Gunni's son, of whom we spoke before, was then with earl Hacon, he was a dear friend of both earls, Hacon had hidden this bad counsel from Havard. But as soon as ever he was aware of it, then he leaped overboard from the earl's ship and swam to an isle where no man dwelt, for he would not be a partner in any treachery with Hacon against the holy Magnus. That man was with earl Magnus who hight Holdbodi, a truth-telling householder out of the Southern

Earl Hacon comes to the meeting with a number of ships ready for battle, and gives out his wicked purpose.

A.D. 1116. isles, he was one of the dearest of earl Magnus' followers; he was then hard by at all these tidings, and has afterwards told most fully about all that befell and all the discourse between earl Hacon and earl Magnus, as may now be heard next after this.

Earl Magnus comes first to Egelsha.

25. Earl Magnus the saint came to Egelsha with his men sooner than earl Hacon. And when they saw Hacon's eight war-ships then earl Magnus thought he knew that foul play must be meant, and all men who had any clear-sightedness, wondered how such a number of armed men could be wanted for any peaceful purpose. When the holy Magnus saw that the plotting of Hacon would be revealed, then he went up on the isle to the church to prayer; and was there the night, not for dread or fear's sake, but rather to commit to God all his case. The men of earl Magnus offered to defend him and to fight against earl Hacon, but he answered so: "I will "not lay your life in peril for me, and if peace cannot "be set between us two kinsmen, then God's will be "done; for I will rather thole hurt and treachery than "use them against others." For this noble martyr, saying these things, well knew that all guile and deceit recoil on him who does them. Now his men thought that came sooth which he had before said about the treachery of Hacon. But for that earl Magnus knew beforehand as to the duration of his life, whether it were of his own wit or of godly foreshowing, so he would not fly or fare far from the meeting of his foes, and he sought not the holy church for other sake than that of faith. Earl Magnus was awake long in prayer through the night, and took heed for his soul's help and prayed for it carefully; he confided all his business and his own self into God's hand. Next morning he made them sing him mass, and in that mass he received the Lord's Body. And this his deed was needed for the highest proof, that on that spot he should become the sacrifice of God, as the helpful sacrifice of Our Lord Jesus Christ's body and blood was offered up for the good of the whole world. But earl Hacon, who at that time was banished from

He refuses to defend himself and leaves his case in God's hand.

He spends the night in prayer in the church.

all fear and love of God, dishonouring the privileges of the Church, was not afraid to go into the holy church violating thus her peace and freedom, so that he showed his wickedness all the more grimly that he did it in a holier place. For ever is sin increased by ill-deeds and evil by badness; and the sinner, when he comes into the deep of sins, throws off all fear of God, and the more he is wont to sin, the more bold he gets, and the less he cares what ill he doeth, for then he thinks it little worth however great his misdeeds may be. A.D. 1116.

Earl Hacon sends four men to seize Magnus.

That same morning that earl Hacon had come up on the isle with his evildoers, he sent four of his men, the worst of his servants, who were most cruel and readiest to evil deeds, to seize earl Magnus wherever he might be. These four, who may rather be called for their cruelty the most harmful wolves than reasonable men, ever thirsting for the outshedding of blood, rushed into the church just about the end of the mass.

They drag him out of the church.

They snatched at once earl Magnus the saint with great violence, noise, and tumult out of the peace and bosom of holy church, as the gentlest sheep out of the sheep-fold. The holy one was holden of sinful thralls, the righteous one was bound and dragged wrongfully by wrong-doers, and led in that way before the covetous judge earl Hacon.

The steadfastness of saint Magnus.

But this the strong champion of God showed so much steadfastness in all these sufferings, that his body neither quaked for fear, nor his heart for dread or grief, for he left this thorny world with all its fruitless flowers. He looked that God would recompence to him his long-suffering with an unspeakable crown; but their cruelty and fury with endless pangs in the hot fire of hell, for such unmanly evil and monstrous covetousness. He was as glad and merry when they laid hands on him as if he were bidden to a banquet, and with such steadfast heart and soul that he neither spoke to his adversaries with any bitterness, wrath, or broken voice.

26. When earl Magnus the saint was come before earl Hacon, he spoke with much steadfastness to Hacon. "Thou dost not well, kinsman," says he, "that thou

A.D. 1116. " holdest not thy oaths, and it is much to be looked for
The three choices which he offers to earl Hacon. " that thou hast done this more by the ill-will of others
" and their egging on, than of thy own badness. Now
" I will offer thee three choices, that thou may'st take
" one of them rather than that thou shouldst spoil thy
" oaths, and let me be slain thy kinsman, and guiltless
" as some will say." Earl Hacon said, " I will first hear
" then what thou offerest." Saint Magnus says, " This
" is the first choice, that I shall fare away out of the
" land to Rome, or right out to Jerusalem, to seek holy
" places, and so make amends for both of us twain; I
" shall have two ships out of the land manned with
" good men, and those necessaries which we need to have.
" I shall swear never to come to the Orkneys after-
" wards." That choice was quickly refused by Hacon and his men. Then said saint Magnus: " Now for that
" our life is in your power, but I know that I have
" been guilty in many things against all-ruling God,
" and that I therefore need to make amends: then
" send me up into Scotland to the friends of both of us,
" and let me be kept in ward there with two men for a
" passtime to me; and see thou so to it that I may
" never come out of that wardship without thy leave."
To this they said " Nay " quickly, and found many reasons why it might not be. Then this steadfast knight said, " I am in a great strait about the choice,"
Earl Hacon chooses the last, but his men will not agree to it. says he. " Now is that one alone left, which I will
" offer thee; and God knows that about this I look
" rather to the salvation of thy soul than to the life of
" my body; for after all it beseems thee less to quench
" my life. Let me be maimed in my limbs, or let my
" eyes be plucked out, and so set me in a dark dungeon
" from which I may never come out." Then said earl
They declare that one or other must be slain, and that they will not serve two rulers. Hacon, " This atonement I take, nor do I ask for aught
" more." Then earl Hacon's men jumped up and said
" To this we will not agree, to torture earl Magnus;
" but we will slay either one of you twain; and ye two
" shall not from this day forth both rule the lands."
Then says earl Hacon, " I will rather rule the lands

" than die quickly, if ye are so stern in this matter."— So said Holdbodi of their parley. After that saint Magnus fell to prayers, and looked into the palms of his hands, and poured out many tears in God's eye-sight, giving his cause, his life, and himself into the Lord's power. A.D. 1116. Earl Hacon chooses to live, and orders saint Magnus to be put to death.

27. Next to this, when the holy friend of God, earl Magnus, was done and doomed to death, then earl Hacon bade Ofeig his banner-bearer to slay earl Magnus; but he said "Nay" with the greatest wrath. Then earl Hacon forced his cook, whose name was Lifolf, to kill earl Magnus, but he began to weep with a loud voice. Then earl Magnus the saint spoke and said to him, " Thou shalt not weep," says he, " for there is fame " for thee in doing such deeds. Be thou of steadfast " heart, for thou shalt have my clothes, as is the wont " and law of the men of old. Thou shalt not be afraid, " for thou doest this by force, and he that forces thee " to do it hath greater sin than thou." But when he had said this, then he stripped off him his kirtle, and gave it to Lifolf. After that the blessed earl Magnus asked leave to say his prayers, and it was granted him. Then he fell flat on the earth and gave himself over into God's power, bringing himself to Him as an offering. Nor did he pray for himself alone, but rather for his foes and banemen as well, and he forgave them from all his heart what they had misdone towards him; and he confessed to God all his offences, and prayed that they might all be washed off him by the outshedding of his blood; and he commended his soul into God's hand, praying God's angels to come to meet it, and bear it into the rest of Paradise. Then, when this famous martyr of God had ended his prayers, he said to Lifolf, " Stand thou before me, and hew me on the " head a great wound, for it beseems not to behead chiefs " like thieves. Strengthen thee, man, and weep nót, " for I have prayed God that he will pardon thee." After that earl Magnus signed himself with the cross, and bowed him to the stroke. But Lifolf hewed him His cook Lifolf is the executioner.

A.D. 1116. on the head a great blow with an axe. Then earl Hacon said, "Hew thou a second time." Then Lifolf hewed into the same wound. Then saint Magnus the earl fell on his knees, and fared with this martyrdom from the wretchedness of this world to the everlasting bliss of the kingdom of heaven. And this man whom the man-slayer took out of the world, All-ruling God let rule with him in heaven. His body fell to earth, but his soul was loftily lifted up to the heavenly glory of the angels. That spot on which saint Magnus was smitten was stony and mossy; but a little after his worthiness towards God was revealed, so that since there is there a green field, fair and smooth; and God showed by this token that earl Magnus was slain for righteousness sake, and that he had gotten the fairness and greenness of Paradise on the land of the living. The death-day of earl Magnus the saint is two nights after the feast of Tiburtius and Valerianus; it was on the second day of the week that the worthy earl Magnus was slain, three weeks after Lady Day[1] in Lent. He had then been twelve winters earl with Hacon. Then were kings in Norway Sigurd Jewry-farer, and his brothers Eystein and Olaf. Then had passed since the fall of saint Olaf Harold's son seventy-four[2] winters. That was in the days of Pope Pascal the second of that name, and of St. John bishop of Holar in Iceland." To the honour of earl Magnus the saint, Master Robert who has written the story in Latin so speaks:

A token of his holiness.

16 April A.D. 1116, the martyrdom of saint Magnus.

Master Robert's sermon on his feast.

28. "This day is revealed to us, dearest brethren, the "death-day of the blessed earl Magnus the Martyr, his "day of rest and everlasting bliss. Let us be glad and "joyful on this high day, for that he craves solemn "good-will and special honour of us, who dwell by his "halidom[3] and under his patronage and safe-keeping;

[1] Lady Day, 25th of March, and St. Magnus' Day, April 16th.

[2] The figures are wrong both in the Orkneyingers Saga and here. They should be eighty-six.

[3] From this it appears that Master Robert, who preached the sermon on the day of the Saint's martyrdom, was an Orkneyinger.

Master Robert's sermon on the feast of St. Magnus.

" and let us look towards his worthiness. For that
" because of his sublime example and holy life, first
" bloomed in the region of the realm of the Orkneys the
" fairest dispensations of pure good-will, and from the
" holiest decrees of this gloryful martyr sprung manifold
" increase of the most seemly virtue. He drove away
" the throne of the lordship of the Devil out of the
" northern airt of the world, and established in its
" stead the tabernacle of Almighty God. He withered
" and up-rooted all ill-weeds with his preaching, but let
" grow up the fairest flowers and the sweetest corn
" crop of the most helpsome growth. He turned all the
" bitterness of the Orkneys into the seemliness and
" sweetness of holy habits. To-day he conquered the
" world and the world's lords, and he ascended a noble
" victor over the world, taking from his holy master,
" our Lord Jesus Christ, a crown of glory. To-day he
" was parted from all the weight of bodily weakness,
" faring through the heavens, and he entered into bliss,
" having become like to holy men in all glory. To-day
" he threw off the worldly garb of this changeful life,
" uprising higher than human weakness may reckon;
" and to him for that is granted heavenly worship,
" honour and bliss before the eyes of all the Saints. He
" ascended in truth bright in worthiness, mighty in
" perfect blessedness, gloriful from the most seemly
" victory. This the exalted martyr of God, the blessed
" earl Magnus, adorned with the crown of his own
" blood, was tortured when there had passed from the
" incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand
" one hundred and four years,[1] on a Monday, the six-
" teenth of the kalends of the month of May. Now,
" my dearest, let us cast away bodily lusts, and keep
" us from the love of unlawful things, conquering and
" rising above the attacks of blasphemy; but let us
" follow the footsteps and life of this the glorious
" martyr with all the strength of our minds, so far as

[1] It should be sixteen.

A.D. 1116. " our feebleness may bring us. Let us follow the ways
" of his life; let us hold to the pattern of his works,
" let us strive to be like his life, though it be every day
" revealed and made plain—by wondrous miracles and
" great and glorious tokens, which Almighty God grants
" to the Northern region for his noble intercession and
" famous worthiness, both on sea and land,—that his
" life and holy virtue is rather more praiseworthy and
" wonderful than possible to be imitated by our weak-
" ness. He appeared on earth that he might become
" our guardian and intercessor for help and mercy with
" Almighty God. For this it beseems us who are
" weighed down with the great load of our sins ever to
" pay him worship with the special devotion of bounden
" obedience and honour, that this the exalted martyr
" earl Magnus may deign to beseech for us with his
" worthiness and prayers that we may attain to be
" partakers of the heavenly crown and everlasting glory,
" which he obtained on the day of his martyrdom.
" May Our Lord Jesus Christ grant us this, who is
" honour and bliss, help and health, gladness and glory
" of all his saints and righteous men; who with the
" Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth one
" God in three persons world without end. Amen."

Master Robert wrote this sermon, A.D. 1136 ?

Master Robert wrote this story in Latin to the worship and honour of saint Magnus the isle-earl, when twenty winters[1] were passed from his martyrdom.

Earl Hacon refuses saint Magnus christian burial.

29. Now we must take up the story and tell of those things which were done after the death of saint Magnus the earl, that so great was the cruelty and hardness of earl Hacon, and so great his wrath and fury against the blessed Magnus, that he no less envied earl Magnus dead than alive. And though the fury and grimness of most men can be soothed after an ill deed is done, still neither ill-will nor envy was soothed or sated in the heart of Hacon, for he forbids that earl Magnus should be buried

[1] It is impossible to verify this date, but if it be correct Master Robert must have written his life of St. Magnus in the year 1136.

at the church like Christian men, but rather that he should be there hidden in the ground where he was slain. A.D. 1116.

30. It had been settled at the former meeting of the earls in Hrossey, that when their agreement had been fully strengthened and made steadfast after the judgment of the best men, which they had bound with oaths, that both earls, when they fared from the meeting, which had been fixed in Egelsha, should go to a feast in Paplay, to Thora the mother of earl Magnus. But now after the slaying and death of the earl, then earl Hacon still went to the feast with his men. There was the best of banquets. But when drink took hold on earl Hacon, then Thora went to him and said thus:—"Now art "thou alone come here, lord, but I looked for both of "you twain, thee and earl Magnus my son. Now be so "with me in my prayer, as thou wilt that all-ruling "God shall be to thee at doomsday, that thou givest "me leave that my son may be buried at church." Earl Hacon looked towards her and shed tears, and said, "Bury thy son, woman, there where it liketh thee." Saint Magnus was then brought to church and buried at Birsay in Christchurch, which earl Thorfinn his grandfather had let be built. Then eftsoons a heavenly light was seen to shine over his grave. Afterwards men who were placed in peril began to vow to saint Magnus the earl, and their need was granted as they themselves prayed for it. At the same time a heavenly fragrance was perceived at his grave, and there sick men got their health. Next to that men made their voyage from the Orkneys and Shetland who were past hope of cure, and watched over his tomb, and all got healing for their hurts; but still men dared not to spread the miracles of earl Magnus much abroad while earl Hacon lived. It is is so said of those men who had been worst in going between the earls, and were most in treachery against earl Magnus, that they most of them had quick ends and a short life, and they died an ill death.

Earl Hacon goes to a feast at Thora's house the mother of the saint.

Thora's prayer to earl Hacon.

He grants her leave to bury her son at church.

The holiness of the Saint begins to be recognized.

A.D. 1116–23. Earl Hacon's career after the slaying of saint Magnus.

After the slaying of saint Magnus, Hacon Paul's son took under him all the rule in the Orkneys; he made then all men to take oaths of fealty to him, even those as well who had before served earl Magnus. Then he became a great chief, and laid heavy burdens on the friends of earl Magnus, whom he thought had been most against him in their dealings. Some winters after Hacon made him ready for a voyage out of the land; he fared south to Rome, and in that voyage he fared right out to Jewry, as was then palmers' wont; there he sought holy places, and bathed him in the river Jordan. After that he fared back to his own land, and took under him the rule in the Orkneys. He became then a good governor, and kept his realm well at peace. He laid down then new laws, which the freemen liked far better than those which had been before. By such things his friendships began to wax many. Then it came about that those Orkneyingers desired nothing else than to keep earl Hacon in power in the Orkneys, and his offspring. And there we make an end of speaking of Hacon in this book.

A chapter on the mercy of God.

31. The most merciful God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who bids and leads his friends to everlasting bliss from all the misery of this world, he the same who looses all those who creep with all their heart to his mercy, from all the sins and defilement of this sorrowful world, and makes out of the ignorant the wisest, of low and humble the most famous, of poor the richest, of ignoble the most noble chiefs, not indeed of this world's kingdom, but rather of the kingdom of heaven, and of endless glory, as he did of old by Joseph the patriarch, who was led out of the dark dungeon, and made at once lord and chief of all the realm of Egypt—he, the same who made David out of a shepherd's lad the highest king over all the tribes of Israel, and led Judas Maccabeus out of the starvation of the wilderness, that he might attain honour and renown in victory, and such great glory that he was thought by far to excel other men; and Alexander the

son of Philip, who was called the Macedonian, for the sake of the hard mastership of Aristotle[1] * * * * and furnished in all things, as might be most seemly. Then the lord bishop enshrined the halidom of the blessed earl Magnus with honour and pomp, and the thanksgiving of the whole people; and then all those were healed who were in despair of health, and needing mercy, who had come thither at that time to his halidom. Saint Magnus the earl was enshrined on the Feast of Lucy the Virgin, before Yule in the winter. And that day is worthily kept far and wide, both to saint Magnus and the blessed maid of God Lucy; but the day of his departure to the kingdom of heaven is in spring.

A.D. 1137.

The enshrinement of the relics of saint Magnus. 13th of December.

32. Now we have gone over, though it be less worthily than should be, the story of the translation, proving, and enshrining of the halidom of the blessed earl Magnus, and no less the law which was passed as to his feast. And it is to be borne in mind and marked that the Lord God honours his bosom friends with divers privileges for their righteousness, some here at once in this life, but others after life. But still those prerogatives among saints seem somewhat special and preeminent which belong to Magnus the martyr of God. This is to be understood thus, that when one of his bones was proved at home in the Orkneys, it turned into the fairest mark of the cross in the eyesight of men who stood by. Another mark is this, that this very same cross of bone was turned afterwards to the brightest hue of gold before the lord Pope himself in Rome. Wherefore he takes this the purple martyr into the catalogue of saints; but that has been granted to few others in the North lands, that he (the Pope) himself has done this. For this we may behold and wonder, though no man may understand it as it is, how mighty the all-ruling God is in the riches and depth of his mercy; for he grants these gifts of love to some of his friends which he doth not grant to others, and shares them between them in the way that he will;

Special tokens of the holiness of saint Magnus

[1] Here at least one leaf in the MS. is lost.

and never faileth, though he give the gifts of the Holy Spirit to each of them. Therefore be his name eternally praised and blessed for ever and ever, Amen.

The miracles of saint Magnus.

33. From that time the working of miracles of saint Magnus the earl was noised and spread far and near over all the western lands, and the north region of the world; and men fared from nearlying lands, burgs, and towns, castles and hundreds, with great hearts and offering hands to seek his halidom; but some sent money towards his holy shrine as an honour to him, but as a means of healing soul and body for themselves, both in this world and the other. For that shall here next be told some miracles, though they be few, of the countless ones which God grants for his worthiness.

Bergfinn and Halfdan of Shetland.

34. When goodman Bergfinn from the north of Shetland, who was before named in this matter,[1] heard these joyful tidings of the translation of saint Magnus the earl, then he fared a second time from the north of Shetland with his leprous son, whose name was Halfdan, to Kirkwall, and they both watched, that father and son, at the halidom of earl Magnus. But the saint of God appeared to Halfdan, and passed his hands over his body, and on the spot all leprosy fell off him. Then he arose all whole. Saint Magnus the earl also showed himself to goodman Bergfinn in sleep, and said to him, "Now "shalt thou take clear sight, for now hast thou fared "hither with right faith, and not doubted my holiness, "and offered me fair vows, both in prayers and fee-gifts." Then he made the mark of the cross over Bergfinn's eyes, and he awoke as sharpsighted as when he had been sharpest-sighted, and both father and son fared home whole, praising God and saint Magnus the earl.

Thorkell of the Orkneys.

Thorkell hight a man who abode in the Orkneys, he fell off his barley-rick and was all lamed on his other side on which he fell on the earth. He was borne to the saint earl Magnus, and there he got speedy cure of his hurts, in healed broken bones, and strengthened

[1] *i.e.*, in the lost leaves.

body. He thanked God and saint Magnus for his healing gift.

Amundi of Shetland.

Amundi Illugi's son hight a man, a goodman north from Shetland, he was leprous and very sick. He fared to earl Magnus the saint, and watched at his shrine, and begged him for mercy and cure. But as he slept then Magnus the isle-earl appeared to him, and passed his hands over his body, and gave him healing so speedily that he woke up quite whole; and he gave thanks to God for his cure, and to the merciful Magnus.

Sigurd of the Dale in Shetland.

Sigurd Tandri's son hight a man, he abode in Shetland at that farm which is hight the Dale; he became mad, so that he was sewn up in hide. This man was brought to saint Magnus the earl, and there he got his wit and full health, and he fared thence quite whole, praising God and the saint earl Magnus.

Another Sigurd from Shetland.

Another man hight Sigurd, from the north of Shetland; he had cramped hands, so that all the fingers lay in the palms. He sought the halidom of the saint earl Magnus, and there he got his cure with straight and lissom fingers for all his needs. He thanked God for the mercies which had been shown him for the worthiness of earl Magnus.

Thorbjorn Olaf's son from Shetland.

There was a man hight Thorbjorn Olaf's son, from the north of Shetland, he was devil-mad and witless. He was brought to the shrine of St. Magnus the earl, and he became at once whole, and he fared to his own home, praising and blessing God, and this his blissful martyr.

Thord dragonbeak of Shetland.

Thord hight a man who was also called "dragonbeak," hireling of the aforesaid goodman Bergfinn. He thrashed corn in the barley barn the next day before the mass-day of saint Magnus the earl. But when it was about nones in the day, then Bergfinn bade him to leave off working. "Tis not very often," said Thord, "that thou "thinkest overmuch work is done." Bergfinn said, "The highday that cometh to-morrow we are bound to "keep with all the reverence that we may and can." Then Bergfinn went away, but Thord worked on as

Thord dragonbeak in Shetland.

before. But when a short time was over, then Bergfinn went out the second time, and said to Thord in great wrath, "It mislikes me very much that thou workest in "holy times; but leave off at once on the spot." Then the goodman went away very wrath, but Thord worked on as before. But when men were about full at supper, then in came Thord in workaday clothes, and fell at once to drinking greedily. And when he had drunk one horn of liquor, then he became mad, so that men had at once to throw him into bonds, and he went on so for six days. Then goodman Bergfinn vowed for him to give half a mark of silver towards the shrine of saint Magnus the earl, and to let Thord watch there three nights if he became whole. But Thord got back his health the next night after the vow was made for him; and all praised the highest King of heaven, and this his worthy bosom friend saint Magnus the earl.

Two men who robbed the shrine of saint Magnus.

It is said again that two men broke gold from off the shrine of saint Magnus the earl, one of them was a Caithness man, and the other an Orkneyan. But that Caithness man was lost and drowned in the Pentland Firth, and his name was Gilli. But the Orkneyan became mad, and he said in his ravings what they had done. Then a pilgrimage to Rome was vowed for him if he got whole. After that he was brought to earl Magnus the saint, and a vow was made for his cure, and he became whole on the spot, and praised God and saint Magnus the earl.

Asmund of Shetland.

Asmund hight a man. On his head fell a great log, and crushed all his skull, but the oftnamed goodman Bergfinn vowed for him; and lots were cast whether it should be vowed for him to go on a pilgrimage to Rome, or to give money to the church of Magnus. But the lot came up that he should seek the halidom of earl Magnus the saint. Then he got back at once his speech which he had before lost. After that he fared to saint Magnus the earl, and watched there and got the full cure of his hurts. But goodman Bergfinn gave earl Magnus half a mark of silver weighed as he had vowed.

Sigrid of Shetland.

There was a woman hight Sigrid; she was daughter of Sigurd of Sand, from the north of Shetland. She was blind from blate babyhood[1] till she was quite twenty. Her father carried her south to the Orkneys, and let her watch at the shrine of saint Magnus the earl. He offered there much money. Sigrid got there clear sight in both her eyes, and that father and daughter fared thence, blessing and praising God and earl Magnus the saint.

Another Sigrid of Shetland.

There was yet another woman hight Sigrid, daughter of Arnfrid, from the north of Shetland, from that farm which is called Unst. Her leg broke into two bits, and she was carried to saint Magnus the earl, and she got speedy cure, and thanked God and earl Magnus the saint.

A third Sigrid of Shetland.

Yet a third woman hight Sigrid, from the north of Shetland out of Unst. She was at board with that householder whose name was Thorlak; he abode at Bollastede. Sigrid was sewing about evening before the feast of saint Magnus the earl, after that other men had kept it holy. Thorlak asked why she worked so long, but she said she was just going to stop. The goodman went away then, but she sewed as before. Then came Thorlak the second time to her, and said, "Why "dost thou so ill at such a holy time? Go away now, "and work no longer in my house." She said it was a very little fault, and sewed on as before till it was dark night. But when men busked them to meat, then Sigrid fell mad, so that she had to be thrown at once into bonds, and was hardly held until Thorlak vowed for her, and cast lots whether she should go to Rome or give goods to saint Magnus the earl. And that lot came up that she was to go to Kirkwall to the halidom of earl Magnus the saint. And afterwards she was borne thither, and got there the sublime gift of healing for her loss of wit, and she praised God and his exalted knight earl Magnus; but still she fared afterwards to Rome for her (soul's) help.

[1] *i.e.*, from "tender years."

Groa of Hrossey.

Groa hight a woman out of Hrossey; she was devil-mad, and fared to Kirkwall to saint Magnus the earl, and there she got good health, and praised God and the earl saint Magnus.

Ragnhild a cripple.

Ragnhild hight a woman; she was a cripple when she was four winters old, and all up to the time she was twenty. Then she watched three nights at the halidom of St. Magnus the earl. And on the third night there appeared to her in her sleep a bright man and a noble and fairly clad, and said to her, "Ever and oft hast "thou lain here, great is thy need; rise thou up now, "and be whole, and bear this staff in thy hand." After that he vanished from her. But she woke; then she had hold on the lock that was on the aumbry which was on the other side of the choir of Magnus' (church). (She) rose up at once quite whole, as though she had never been bent, with straight legs and sinews, praising God and saint Magnus the earl. She was with the bishop many winters.

Asa a cripple.

Asa hight a woman; she had been all her days a cripple, but she got such a sublime cure of her health from the blessed earl Magnus, that she walked to Rome the same summer that she became whole.

Gudrun a cripple.

Gudrun hight a woman; she was a cripple a long time of her life. She got quick healing of her hurt and full cure from the worthiness and intercession of earl Magnus the saint, and praised God and his bosom friend earl Magnus.

Sigurd of Knotsand.

Sigurd hight a man; he was an almsman from Knotsand. He was so very weakly that he crawled on his knees, and could not stand upright. He became quite whole at the shrine of earl Magnus; he praised God and saint Magnus.

Two gamesters from the Southern isles.

Two men from the Southern isles cast dice for silver, and one of them lost a hundred marks; then all his goods were at an end, save one barge that he had left. Then he laid the barge against all the goods which he had lost. Then he threw that had won before two sixes. But then the other vowed a vow to earl Magnus the

saint for help that he might get back his goods. After that he cast, and there turned up six on one of the dice, but the other split asunder into two bits, and there were seven spots on both the bits together and thirteen on the three, and so he won all his goods.

Two brothers in Norway.

That event happened in Norway in the days of Harold Gilli, that some powerful and high and mighty men laid it against two brothers that they meant to beguile their kinswomen. But this charge was not sooth. But for all that those powerful men fell on them and laid hands on them, carrying them to the wood away from other men, and slew him against whom they gave it out that he was most guilty. After that they took the other, and dealt him many and great tortures with great cruelty, so far that they broke asunder both his legs and his arms too. After that those cruel men stabbed out both his eyes, therewith cutting the tongue away out of his head, and parting from him in such unmanly wise that they fared away, but he lay there half dead. Speedily after they were away, many wolves rushed out of the wood, rending and tearing the flesh off the bones of him that lay slain, and after that faring back into the wood. But of the wounded one it is to be said that albeit he could not with his tongue pray for mercy, he still bethought him all at once that Almighty God might grant him some help. Especially he turned his thoughts thither where the earl saint Magnus was, for in that time his miracle-making flourished most of all. And when he had vowed his vow he became aware that a man has come to him, who passes his hands over his broken legs and arms. Therewith he takes the stump of the tongue and brings it to its place at last; afterwards he lays his hands on the eye-sockets. But with this handling wondrous changes came about; the eyes were re-set with clear sight, the tongue is become useful for all utterance, the broken limbs were healed, and all his former health restored to him. He sees standing by him a man fair of face, to whom he thus speaks:—"What is thy name

" most noble lord?" The bright man answers, "Here " is earl Magnus, but mind well to keep what thou hast " vowed to God." At this he was full of joy, and so speaks the second time:—"For that, sublime friend of " God, that thou hast granted me a great gift of healing, " I pray again of thy mercy that thou beggest life for " my brother from God." After he had so spoken the saint earl Magnus vanished from his sight, answering nothing to the prayer mentioned. But that man falls forward, and thanks God for the mercy shown him, meaning to abide there in that spot two nights in steadfast prayer to help his brother. But as time went by he looks around, and sees a flock of many wolves running out of the wood to where the carcase of the departed one lay, and there they spew up all that they had eaten of his flesh and bones, and turn back after that into the wood. And when a little time is passed he sees saint Magnus come, and he blesses with his right hand the whole mass together, the wolves' spew and the bones. Next to this the body becomes quite whole by these means. Saint Magnus blesses the breathless body a second time, for the sake of which he that before was slain rose up whole and living, and goes to his brother. Then each of them greeted the other, giving thanks to God and to saint Magnus the earl for such ready mercy as was shown them. So let also all hearing such great works yield manifold praise to the true God who grants such great things to sinful men for the prayers and worthiness of his most beloved bosom friends.

THE SHORT MAGNUS SAGA.

THE SHORT MAGNUS SAGA.

HERE BEGINS THE SAGA OF MAGNUS THE ISLE-EARL.

1. That earl ruled over the Orkneys whose name was Thorfinn, the son of Sigurd Hlödver's son; he had to wife Ingibjorg, who was called earl's-mother, she was a daughter of earl Finn Arni's son, but her mother was Bergliót, the daughter of Halfdan, the son of Sigurd sow and Asta. The sons of those two, earl Thorfinn and Ingibjorg were Paul and Erlend, who took the realm in the Orkneys after their father. They were great men and fair, and took much after their mother's kindred, wise men and meek-hearted. Earl Paul got to wife a daughter of earl Hacon Ivar's son and Ragnhilda the daughter of king Magnus the good; their son was earl Hacon. Earl Erlend had to wife a woman named Thora, she was the daughter of Somerled the son of Óspak. The mother of Óspak was Thordis, a daughter of Hall of the Side. The sons of Erlend were called Erling and Magnus, but their daughters were Cecilia and Gunnhilda; she, Gunnhilda, was the mother of earl Rognvald-Kali.

The parentage and family of saint Magnus.

2. But when those brothers Paul and Erlend ruled over the Orkneys, then was there good agreement between them. But when their sons got to be full grown men they were very overbearing, that is to say Hacon and Erling, but Magnus was the quietest of them. They were all strong and proper men. But Hacon would be first and foremost, for he thought he was of better birth by his mother's side. But that did not suit them at all, and it so came about that they could not be together, for there was always risk of their falling out. Then the

Paul and Erlend earls in the Orkneys.

Their sons cannot agree because Hacon is overbearing.

Quarrels between the kinsmen.

earls took part in setting them at one again, and a meeting was settled. But as soon as the earls began to talk it was seen that each leaned towards his own son, and thus no settlement was made. Then their friends tried what they could do, and set them at one again on such terms as that the isles were shared into halves between those brothers, as they had been of old time; and then things stood so for awhile. But after some time had passed since the settlement, then Hacon grew so unfair a man, and pressed so hard on those men who served earl Erlend, that they fell out again and fared the one side against the other with a host of men. Then Havard Gunni's son and other friends of the earls again brought about a meeting for an atonement between them, but earl Erlend would not agree to any terms if earl Hacon were by. But for that it seemed to their friends that there was great peril in their quarrels, then the freemen besought earl Hacon and his friends that he would not let that stand in the way, but rather fare away out of the isles. They said 'twere good counsel if he fared east across the sea to seek his friends, so many and so noble as he had both in Norway and Sweden. So at the persuasions of men, and also because there was envy in the heart of Hacon against his kinsmen there in the isles, and because he thought it good to learn the customs of other chiefs, he fared away out of the isles east across the sea.

Hacon Paul's son leaves the Orkneys.

Magnus barelegs king of Norway takes earls Paul and Erlend prisoners.

3. When Magnus barelegs king of Norway held on with his host west across the sea, as is written in his Saga, and when he came to the Orkneys, he took prisoners the earls Paul and Erlend, and sent them east to Norway, but he set his son Sigurd over the isles, and gave him a council, and said thus, that the earls should never have the realm in the Orkneys while he was king in Norway. Thence he fared to the Southern isles, and took along with him Erling and Magnus, the sons of earl Erlend. Then also was with him there Hacon Paul's son. And when he had got under the lee of Scotland there came against him a mighty host in Anglesea-sound, and two

His battle in Anglesea-sound.

earls, Hugh the proud, and Hugh the stout, ruled over that fleet. They were brothers and sons of Kostnomi king in Ireland. And when they met the king made ready to battle against them. But while men were arming themselves, Magnus sat him down. The king asked him why he sat and did not take his arms. Magnus said he had no quarrel with any man there. "And that is why I will not fight," says he. "Then "take thy weapons and help thyself," says the king. He answers, "Let God shield me: I shall not die if he "wills that I should live; I will rather die than wage "a wrongful battle." The king said, "Get thee down "under the planks, and lie not under the feet of men if "thou darest not to fight; for I think not that thou "doest this for faith's sake." Magnus took a psalter and sang while they fought, but did not shield himself, and yet was not wounded. This battle was both hard and long, and ended thus, that Hugh the proud fell there. After that the Welchmen fled, and had lost much people, but king Magnus had the victory, and yet he lost many men of rank, and some died afterwards of their wounds.

Magnus Erlend's son refuses to fight.

4. King Magnus had made Magnus Erlend's son his trencher-page, and he always served at the king's board. But after the battle the king laid great hatred on him, and says that he had behaved there like a craven. It fell on a night, as the king lay off Scotland, that Magnus Erlend's son ran away from the ship, when he thought he had the best chance of flying from the king. He swam to land, and ran off into the wood, and had on only his linen underclothes. He struck his foot and hurt himself as he was barefoot, and then he could fare no further. But he had so made up his berth that it seemed as though a man were lying there. He came in the wood to a great tree and clomb up into its branches and bound up his foot, and so lay hid in the branches for a while. But the day after when men went to the board on the king's ship, the king asked where Magnus Erlend's son might be. He was told that he lay in his

King Magnus hates Magnus Erlend's son.

He flies from the king.

He hurts his foot and lies hid in the branches of a tree

berth and slept. Then the king bade them wake him up, and said more must be under it than sleep alone, when he lay longer than he was wont. But when they came to the berth then he was missed, and the king bade them search for him, and made them let slip after him the slot-hounds. But when the slot-hounds were let loose, they followed up his trail and ran off to the wood, and came to that tree, in the branches of which Magnus was. Then one hound ran round the tree in a ring and bayed. Magnus had a wooden staff in his hand and threw it at the hound, and smote it on the side; but the hound put his tail between his legs and ran off to the ships, and the others after. So the king's men could not find Magnus. He lay hid for a while in the wood, and came after a time to the court of Malcolm, the Scot-king, and stayed there a while, but sometimes with a bishop in Wales. Then again he was in England in various places with his friends, and came not to the Orkneys while king Magnus lived.

while he is tracked with hounds.

He escapes to Scotland.

Deaths of earls Paul and Erlend.

5. But when king Magnus came back to the Orkneys from his warfare, he heard of the death of earl Erlend, east across the sea. He had breathed his last in Nidaros, and is there buried. But earl Paul had died in Bergen, and is buried there. In the spring, king Magnus married Kol, the son of Kali Seabear's son, to Gunnhilda, earl Erlend's daughter, as an atonement for his father's death, for Kali had died of those wounds which he got in Anglesea-sound. Along with Gunnhilda followed certain estates as her dower in the Orkneys and a homestead at Paplay. Some men say that Erling son of earl Erlend fell in Anglesea-sound. Snorri Sturla's son says he has fallen in Ulster, in Ireland, with king Magnus. But when Sigurd, son of king Magnus, heard of his father's fall in the Orkneys, where he then was and had the government of the land as his father had arranged, then he thought there was small outlook for peace if he sat there west across the sea, and so he fared at once that harvest east to Norway with that force which had come to him, and which had been

Gunnhilda, sister of Magnus, married to Kol Kali's son.

Fall of king Magnus in Ireland.

of his father's following to Ireland. And when he came to Norway he was taken to be king along with his brothers, Eystein and Olaf.

Hacon Paul's son earl in the Orkneys.

6. One winter or two after the fall of king Magnus, Hacon Paul's son came to Norway from the west across the sea. He fared to see those brothers, and they took to him kindly, for he had been a dear friend of their father, king Magnus. Those brothers, sons of king Magnus, gave Hacon the title of earl, and such power in the Orkneys as he could claim by his birth. After that he fared west across the sea, and took under him the whole realm in the isles, and so he ruled over it for a while. And when Hacon had ruled over the Isles but a short time, then came Magnus Erlend's son from Scotland and begged to take the inheritance of his father. That was well pleasing to the freemen, for every man was his friend there. Besides he had there many kinsfolk and connexions, who were ready to stand by him in his claim to rule. A noble man, named Sigurd, had married his mother, Thora; their son was Hacon carle, and they had their abode in Paplay. But when earl Hacon learned that Magnus was come thither, he gathered a force together, and would not split his realm. After that their friends came between them, and tried to bring about an atonement. And so it came about that they were made friends on these terms, that earl Hacon should give up half the realm of the Orkneys if that were the will of the kings of Norway, and so they agreed. After that Magnus fared east to seek Eystein and Olaf, for king Sigurd had fared to Jerusalem. Those kings greeted Magnus well, and gave up to him the heritage of his father, half the Orkneys and the title of earl. Then he fared west over the sea to his realm, and all the people were fain to see him. Then he and Hacon got on well together. And then were there good crops and sure peace so long as the friendship of those kinsmen lasted.

Magnus Erlend's son returns to the Orkneys.

Hacon and Magnus joint earls in the Orkneys.

The character of earl Magnus.

7. Magnus was the most famous man in his chieftainship. He was virtuous and dutiful, victorious, and a

sage in wit; a good speaker and lordly tempered, and his praise was in every man's mouth. He was generous of his goods, and a good counsellor, bold in battle, and a sure friend. He was ever chastising theft and robbery, and other misdeeds. He had vikings and wrongdoers slain. Often he gave great gifts to chiefs, but unfailingly gave to needy men much comfort for God's sake. In all things he strictly held God's commandments, and was unmerciful against his own self. So it is said that he abode with his wife for ten years, so that they kept their purity of life; but when he felt temptation coming over him he went into cold water and begged for support of God. Those kinsmen, earl Magnus and Hacon, had the wardship of the land in the Orkneys for some time, during which they were well agreed. It is so said in those songs which have been made on them that they fought against a chief, called Duffinjal, who was the son of earl Duncan, who was the earl's first cousin once removed, and slew him. Thorbjörn was the name of a noble man whom they slew in Borgarfirth (Burrafirth) in Shetland, but it is so said that they took the house over his head and burnt him inside it.

Wicked men spoil the friendship of those kinsmen.

8. When earl Magnus and Hacon had not long ruled over the Orkneys, it came about as often happens, that ill-willing men spoil their kinship, and earl Hacon fell into the hands of those wicked men who did their best to spoil their friendship; for he was already very jealous of the friendships and lordiness of earl Magnus. Two men are named who were with earl Hacon, who played the worst part between them. The one's name was Sigurd, and the others Sighvat sock. This backbiting went so far, that those kinsmen gathered force together and each fared against the other, and both shaped their course for Hrossey. There was the place of meeting of the Orkneyingers. And when they came thither each side went on land and made them ready to battle. There were then with the earls nearly all the great chiefs. There, too, were friends of both, who went between them with good will and tried to set them at

A meeting in Hrossey to reconcile them; at which a second meeting is fixed after Easter in Egelsha.

one again. This meeting was in Lent, a little before Palm Sunday. And so it was because men of good intent took part in the atonement, that it was settled that the earls should be atoned on those terms, that well disposed men should settle matters between them, and the meeting for the full atonement was to be in Egelsha, after Easter week. Each of them was to have but two ships at this meeting, and just as many men as the other. Both took oaths to keep the atonement which should be then declared.

Earl Magnus sets out for the meeting.

9. After Easter they made ready to this voyage. It is so said that earl Magnus summoned to him all the best men who were in his realm, and who seemed to him likeliest to mend matters between them. And when he was ready he held on for Egelsha and they were rowing in a calm sea. Then it so fell out that a billow rose alongside the ship which the earl steered, and fell aboard the ship, and into the stern where he sat. Men wondered at this, as no man thought a sea could have fallen there, and the water was deep under the ship. The earl said, "This is not wonderful, though ye wonder " at this thing which has happened and which is so " strange; but it is my foreboding that this is a token " of my life's end. May be that now is coming to pass " which was spaed aforetime, that Paul's son should do " a mighty misdeed. We must now look upon our " business," says he, "as though my kinsman Hacon " means mischief against us." The earl's men grew frightened at his words and bade him guard his life, and not fare to meet earl Hacon. He answers, "Of a surety " will I go." May all that befalls us on our journey be after God's will.

Portents by the way.

Treachery of earl Hacon.

10. Now must be told of earl Hacon that he summons a great band, and had eight warships, and all manned for battle. And when the company gathered together he gave it out plainly to the people that he meant at that meeting to settle matters once for all between those kinsmen, so that both of them should not be able to tell the tale afterwards. Many of his men were well pleased

at this plan, and added many unseemly words to those; and Sigurd and Sighvat sock they were still the worst of all. And so they rowed mightily. Havard Gunni's son was on board earl Hacon's ship; he was a great friend of both of them and their connexion, and Hacon had hidden from him this ill-counsel. But when he knew that the earl had set his heart on doing this he would not join in it, and leapt overboard and swam to a little isle where no man dwelt.

Behaviour of saint Magnus.

11. Now when earl Magnus saw the coming of earl Hacon and how he had eight ships, they thought they knew that he meant to play them false. Then earl Magnus landed on the island with all his company and to the church, and he was there during the night. His men offered to guard him, but he answered, "I will not "lay your lives in peril for me, and if there is not to "be peace fixed between us kinsmen, then let God's will "be done." Then his men thought how true that was which he had said to them when the billow fell on the ship. But because he knew beforehand as to his life's end, whether it was from his own wit or from heavenly revelation, so he would not fly from meeting his foes; and for faith's sake he sought the church and prayed there vigorously out loud, and gave himself over into God's hand. Next morning he went out of the church with two men up into the island and down to the shore to a certain hiding place, and there he prayed to God. Some men say that earl Magnus made them say mass to him ere he went from the church, and that he took the Lord's Body.

He prays in the church, and next morning betakes him to a hiding-place.

Hacon and Magnus meet.

12. Earl Hacon and his men ran up on the island in the morning, and first to the church, and sought for earl Magnus and could not find him there. Then they looked for him about the island. But when earl Magnus saw where they went, he called out to them and said "Here "I am." And when Hacon saw that, they ran thither. Then he said, "Thou didst not well kinsmen when thou "wentest back on thy oaths; but I trow thou didst "this more from others badness than thine own. Now

Saint Magnus offers Hacon three choices.

" I will offer thee three choices. This is the first, that " I will fare away from the land to Rome, or all the way " to Jerusalem, and seek holy places, and have two ships " and what we need, and so I will make amends for the " soul of each of us. I will also swear never to come " back to the Orkneys while I live." But Hacon refused this. Then earl Magnus said, " Now for that my life is " in your hand, and because I know that I have done " many things against God's will, and so need to do " penance for that, and because I see it is unseemly in " thee to slay me: so send me to our friends and let me " be kept close there, and two men with me to amuse " me, and see thou to that that I do not come out of " their keeping save with thy will." This earl Hacon refused quickly and his men with him, and they found many reasons that this should not be. Then earl Magnus spoke again, " Now there is but one thing left, and " God knows that I have an eye more to thy honour " than to my health. Let me be maimed in my limbs " or robbed of my eyes, and throw me in that plight " into a darksome dungeon." Earl Hacon answers, " This agreement I accept, and I ask nothing further." Then the chiefs sprang up and said, " We will now " slay one or other of you twain, and ye two shall " not rule the land, both of you from this day forth." Then earl Hacon answers, " If ye will be so stern in " this matter, then will I far rather choose to live " and hold the realm." Thus hath spoken of their parley the man whose name is Holdbodi, a truth-telling man, who was then with earl Magnus with another man. And this he said that earl Magnus behaved with great steadfastness of heart, when his adversaries spoke such things as are now said, and that he spoke neither with anger nor wrath. After that he fell to prayers, and hid his face in the palms of his hands, and shed many tears before the face of God.

The chiefs refuse to accept any of them.

13. When earl Magnus was doomed to death, earl Hacon bade his standard-bearer, whose name was Ofeig, to hew off earl Magnus's head; then he refused that with

Earl Magnus doomed to death.

Lifolf the earl's cook his executioner.

mickle wrath. Then the earl forced his cook to do it, whose name was Lifolf; but then he began to weep with a loud voice. Then earl Magnus spoke and said, "Thou "shalt not weep," says he, "that is unmanly, but it is "fame to do such a deed. Be of steadfast heart, for "thou shalt have my clothes and weapons, as is the "custom and law of men of old time. Thou shalt not "be afraid, for thou doest this against thy will, and he "that forces thee to this is a greater misdoer than thou." After that he threw off his kirtle and gave it to him, and asked for leave to pray first, and that was granted him. Then he fell all his length along the earth and gave himself to God, and so offered himself up to him. And not alone prayed he for himself and his friends, but rather for his foes and murderers; and forgave them of his whole heart what they had misdone towards him, and confessed from his whole heart his misdeeds before God, and prayed they might be washed away by the out-shedding of his blood; and commended his soul into God's hand, and prayed him to send his angels to meet him, and bring it into the heavenly Paradise. But when he was led to be beheaded he said to Lifolf, "Stand thou before me and "smite me on the head, for that it is not seeming to "behead chieftains like thieves. Strengthen thyself, "wretched man, and be not afraid, for I prayed God

A token of his holiness.

"that he would have mercy on thee." After that he signed himself with the cross, and bowed him under the stroke, and was smitten in mid forehead with a single blow, and passed so from the world to God. That spot where earl Magnus was smitten was stony and mossy. But a little after his worthiness before God was made bright, so that there was a fair field, and he won the fairness and greenness of Paradise, which is called the land of living men. There was afterwards built a church. Earl Hacon would not give leave that the body of earl Mægnus should be carried to a church.

Earl Hacon goes to a feast given by

14. Learned men say that about spring in Lent, after the agreement in Hrossey, Thora, the mother of earl Magnus had bidden both earls to a feast as they came

from Egelsha after the meeting. But after the death of earl Magnus earl Hacon went to the feast on the day fixed. Thora went herself to wait on the earl. And when drink began to take hold on him, then went Thora before him and said, "Now art thou come hither "alone, but I looked for you both. Thou wilt now be "willing to gladden me before the eyes of God and man; "and be now to me instead of a son, but I will be to "thee instead of a mother. I stand much in need of "thy pity, by God's help, that thou wouldst suffer me "that my son be brought to church. Be now with me "so in my prayer as ye wish God to listen to you at "doomsday." The earl held his peace and thought over his share in this business, and was now touched by those shocking deeds which weighed on him. Then he looked towards her and shed tears and said, "Bury thy "son where thou likest." After that earl Magnus was borne and buried in Christchurch in Birsay, in that church which earl Thorfinn had caused to be built.

the mother of saint Magnus.

Thora's prayer.

Earl Hacon grants it, and earl Magnus is buried at Birsay.

15. Soon after that a heavenly light was often seen at nights over the grave of earl Magnus. Later, men took to vowing to him in their needs, if they were placed in peril, and their business was granted as they asked. About the same time a heavenly fragrance was perceived over his grave, and thence men got back their health. Next after that men fared from Shetland and the Orkneys, who were past cure and watched at his tomb, and got healing for their hurts. But for all that men dared not make much stir about this so long as earl Hacon lived. It is so said that those men who were the greatest traitors against earl Magnus died most of them by ill and awful deaths.

Signs and tokens at his grave.

At this time William was bishop in the Orkneys. The bishop's see was then at Christchurch in Birsay, where earl Magnus the saint was buried. He doubted long about his holiness and kept down this new thing before the people.

Bishop William sets his face against them.

16. After the death of earl Magnus Hacon took the whole realm under himself. Then he made all men come and take an oath to be faithful to him who had

Earl Hacon's career afterwards.

before served earl Magnus. Then he became a great chieftain. He laid heavy burdens on those men whom he thought had been most against him in the quarrels of those kinsfolk. Some winters after he fared away out of the land to Rome, and there he got absolution of his case from the Pope. In that journey he fared out to Jerusalem, and sought the halidoms, and bathed in the river Jordan, as is palmers' wont. After that he came home to his realm. Then he became a good ruler and kept his realm well at peace. Then he laid down new laws, and with such things his friendships began to grow. Then it came about that the Orkneyingers cared for nothing else than to have earl Hacon as a chief over them, and his offspring after him.

Further tokens at the grave of earl Magnus.

Bergfinn Starri's son[1] was the name of a freeman from the north in Shetland. He was sightless and fared south to the Orkneys and watched at the tomb of earl Magnus the saint. Along with him watched two men, one's name was Sigurd and the other's Thorbjorn, they were both cripples. Earl Magnus the saint appeared to them all and made them quite cured. Again twenty-four men watched at earl Magnus' tomb and all got healing for their hurts.

Many men spoke of this before bishop William and egged him on to speak about it to Paul Hacon's son who then ruled over the isles after his father, and to ask him to give leave that the halidom (the relics) of earl Magnus might be taken up out of the earth; but the bishop took that heavily. Ofttimes was he reminded in dreams that he should come to a clear understanding as to the earl's holiness and yet he would not believe in it. After that it so came about that he was forced by divine chastisements to honour the tokens and holiness of earl Magnus.

The bishop still doubts after earl Hacon's death.

He is converted by a miracle.

17. It befell one summer that bishop William sailed east to Norway on some needful business and back again at once in the autumn, and about the first winter night

[1] In the Orkn. Saga he is called Skati's son.

he came to Shetland. Then foul winds came on and storms. But when for a long while in the winter there was no fair wind for the isles, then the bishop was in doubt whether he should get back to his see before spring. The captain asked whether he would agree to the holiness of earl Magnus if he sang mass the next Lord's day at home. The bishop gave his consent to this so to speak, but more because of his need than as a free vow. But when this was agreed, then the weather changed and a steady fair wind soon sprang up. And after that they sailed for the Orkneys and he got home before the next Lord's day, and all praised God and his holy martyr earl Magnus. Some men prove it as a truth that bishop William would not consent to take the halidom of earl Magnus out of the earth before this token happened there at home one day, that he could not walk out of the church. For he had become blind, and could not find the door until he repented him of his unbelief, and wept mightily and prayed God that he might find the tomb of earl Magnus. And when he came thither he fell down flat on the earth and vowed to take his halidom straightway out of the earth when he got back his sight. And when he had ended his prayer he got his eyesight again there at the tomb.

The relics of earl Magnus are taken up out of the ground and enshrined.

18. After that he gathered the wisest men together and the best born in the Orkneys and then a mighty crowd came to Christchurch in Birsay. Then the halidom of earl Magnus was taken out of the earth, and then the bones were already almost come out of the ground. He caused the bones to be washed and take a joint and tried it in hallowed fire thrice. But it burnt not, but rather became as silver purified in the fire. It it is the saying of some men, that it melted and ran into the shape of a cross. Then there were wrought many tokens by the halidom. After that learned clerks took the halidom and laid it in a shrine, and set it over the altar. That was on Lucia's mass before Yule, and then there had passed twenty years from the death of earl Magnus. The day of his death is kept in the spring on

the xvi. of the kalends of May. Bishop William then bade them keep holy both days all over his bishoprick; and ever after he was in great love towards earl Magnus the saint. William was the first bishop in the Orkneys, and ruled the see sixty-six years.[1]

Translation of the relics to Kirkwall.

Gunni was the name of a trustworthy yeoman in Westray. He dreamt that earl Magnus the saint came to him and said, "This shalt thou say to bishop William, "that I will fare away out of Birsay east to Kirkwall, "and I know that God will there grant me of his mercy "that they shall become healed of their ailments who "seek to meet me with true faith. Thou shalt tell "thy dream boldly." But when he woke up, he dared not tell his dream, because he feared the wrath of earl Paul. The next night after earl Magnus appeared to him and bade him tell the dream when most men were by. "But if thou dost not so then shalt thou bring "punishment on thyself in this world and more in the "next world." And when he woke up he was full of fear; and fared to Hrossey to see the bishop, and tells the dream at the bishop's mass in a mighty crowd of men. Earl Paul was there then, and all the people bade the bishop to bear the halidom to Kirkwall, as earl Magnus had revealed. But earl Paul stood silent by, and turned as red as blood. After that bishop William fared east to Kirkwall with a worthy company and brought thither the halidom of earl Magnus. The shrine was set over the altar in the church that is there. The market town at Kirkwall had then few houses, but it has since spread out much. Thither after that fared many men and watched there in the church at the halidom and got cure for their ailments if they vowed to earl Magnus with true faith.

Earl Paul's anger.

Further tokens and miracles.

Then fared Bergfinn the second time from Shetland with his leprous son, and they watched at the halidom. Then Bergfinn gave much money to earl Magnus the saint. And on the third night of watching he showed

[1] He died in 1168. Cf. Isl. Ann. *s.a.*

himself to both father and son in their sleep and stroked the body of Halfdan the son, and gave him back his health. Bergfinn thought also that he put his hands on his eyes and said, "Thou shalt get thy sight again such " as it was when thou wast most sharp-sighted, for thou " hast fared now hither in true faith and gavest much " fee hither to God's glory, and didst not doubt of my " holiness." Bergfinn was then a sharp-sighted man when he awoke. Further tokens and miracles.

Thord Dragon-beak is a man's name, he was the hireling of Bergfinn the yeoman. He thrashed corn in the barn the next day before Magnus-mass in the winter, but as the day changed colour at dawn, Bergfinn went out and bade him stop work. Thord answereth, "It is " not often thou thinkest I work too long." Bergfinn said, "This mass day which comes to-morrow we are " bound to keep as we can best." Then the master went away but Thord worked on as hard as ever. But in a little while the master went out again, and spoke to Thord in wrath, "It mislikes me much that thou workest " now, because this day was then laid down by law when " the halidom of earl Magnus was tried and laid in the " shrine. Leave off straightway on the spot." But Thord still worked on. And when men had eaten and were quite full, then in came Thord in work-a-day clothes, and drank at once. And when he had drunk, he got so mad that they had to throw him into bonds at once, and so it went on for six days. Then Bergfinn vowed for him to give half a mark of silver to the shrine of earl Magnus, and to make Thord watch there three nights, if he might be made whole. And Thord got back his health on the self-same night that the vow was made.

There was a man named Ogmund, he was a sister's son of goodman Bergfinn. A cross-tree fell on his head, and crushed the skull much, but Bergfinn vowed for him and cast lots whether he should vow a pilgrimage to Rome or to set a slave free, or money for the shrine of earl Magnus. But the lot came up to give money for the shrine, and he got back his speech at once, and fared to earl Magnus

Further tokens and miracles.

the saint, and there he became whole. But goodman Bergfinn gave half a mark of silver to the shrine as he had vowed.

Amundi was the name of a man, the son of Illugi. He had the worst leprosy. He fared to earl Magnus the saint and watched and prayed for his health. The holy earl Magnus appeared to him in sleep, and passed his hands over his body and gave him his health.——Sigurd was a man's name. He was mad so that he was sewn up in a hide; after that he was borne to earl Magnus the saint, and there he got his health.

Thorbjorn was a man's name. He lost his wits and was borne to earl Magnus, and there he took his health again. Sigurd was a man's name from Fetlar, in the north; his hand was so cramped that the fingers lay in the palm. He fared to the holy earl Magnus, and there got quite whole.——Sigrid was the name of a woman, the daughter of Sigurd, who was blind from childhood and till she was twenty. Her father brought her to earl Magnus, and made her watch there, and gave much money for her cure, and there she got her eyesight.——There was another woman whose name was also Sigrid, who broke her leg in two bits; she too was borne to earl Magnus the saint, and there she got her cure.——Sigrid was the name of a third woman, she was with Thorlak, who dwelt at Baltastede. She sewed when other men made holiday on the day before Magnus-mass. Thorlak asked why she worked so long, but she said she was just about to stop. He came back again and asked why she did so ill. "Go away and work no longer here." She said she had only a little bit left unsewn, and went on working as before till it was dark. But when men busked them to supper, she lost her wits; and men threw her into bonds, but Thorlak vowed for her, and lots were cast whether she should vow a pilgrimage to Rome or to set a slave free, or to give money to the shrine of earl Magnus. But the lot came up to give the money. Thorlak bore her to earl Magnus, and she got her cure there and went a pilgrimage south afterwards.

Thorkell was a man's name, who dwelt in the Orkneys, he fell from his barley-stack and crushed all one side. He was brought to the holy earl Magnus and got there his cure.——Groa was a woman's name, she got mad and was brought to earl Magnus and got her health there, and there she stayed all her life afterwards. Further tokens and miracles.

Two men broke off gold from the shrine of earl Magnus the saint; one was a Caithness man, but the other was a Orkneyman. The Caithness man was lost in the Pentlandfirth, and his name was Gilli; but the other went mad, and said in his raving what they had done; and then a vow was vowed for him to go a pilgrimage south if he were made whole at the shrine of earl Magnus. After that he was led thither and there he got his cure.

In England, were two men who laid great sums on casting dice, and when one of them had lost much, then he staked a barge and all that he owned. But the other threw first and threw two sixes. Then he thought that all hope was over, and vowed to earl Magnus the saint, that he might not lose, and threw; but the dice broke in sunder and two sixes and an ace turned up, and so he won all, and gave afterwards much goods to earl Magnus.

When earl Rognvald-Kali, the sister's son of earl Magnus the saint, had come to rule in the Orkneys, and was quietly seated, then he let be marked out the ground-plan to Magnus' church in Kirkwall, and got smiths for it, and that work went on both well and swiftly, and it is a noble building and well furnished. After that the halidom of earl Magnus was brought thither, and many tokens are wrought there at his halidom. There is now also a bishop's see, which was before at Christchurch in Birsay. Earl Rognvald-Kali builds Magnus' church at Kirkwall.

There was a man named Eldjarn, who was the son of Vardi; he had a wife and many children, and abode north in Kelduhverf,[1] but in a great dearth he became poor and feeble, so that he could not take care of himself, and at last he had so little strength that he Eldjarn of Kelduhverf in Iceland. His feeble health.

[1] A place in the north of Iceland.

could not walk, and was driven about from farm to farm. It fell in the spring after Easter, that he had been driven Thursday and Friday and Saturday, and had no food. At nones on Saturday he came to where a priest dwelt, and was there the night over. And next morning, when men went to matins, he begged that he might be carried to church, and that was done. After matins men went indoors between the services, but he lay outside in the place where his bed was made. He was then so strengthless, that he thought he must die there and then. It came also into his heart what his condition had been before, when he had so much goods all together; and that prayer which he prayed touched him so much that he thought much on it. Then he took and vowed six days fasting, if God would give him any health; this fast he vowed both before Olaf's-mass and Magnus-mass. When he had uttered his vow, men fared to prayers and the priest sang mass. When the epistle was read he fell asleep, but those who were by thought he must be about to die. In his slumber a vision came over him, so that he thought he saw a great light in the choir, and that came outside to him. He saw with the light a fair man and he spoke to him. "Eldjarn" quoth he "hast thou little strength now?" He thought he answered "So methinks; but so it may be that it is not "so. But who art thou?" He answers "Here is the "saint earl Magnus Erlend's son, wilt thou be made "whole?" He answers "I will." That man answers, "The saint king Olaf heard thy prayer and that vow "which thou madest to both of us for thy healing. But "he sent me hither to give thee health; for a woman "made a vow to him away west in the Firths, and he "fared thither to make her whole." Then earl Magnus began to pass his hands over him; but he woke up when the gospel was begun. He spoke to those men who were nearest that they should raise him up. But they answered, "Why should we raise thee up when thou "hast no strength in thee." He answers, "I think I "am now whole." Then they took him and raised him

Saint Magnus appears to him and heals him.

on his feet, and he stood all through the gospel, and so on thenceforth all through the mass. After the mass he went in to the priest and tells the miracle how God had given him his health. But all praised God for those mercies which he had granted him for the worthiness of earl Magnus. May he bestow on us mercy and remission of sins, before our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth God, for ever and ever. Amen.

ADDENDA TO THE MAGNUS SAGA.

I.

LEGENDA DE SANCTO MAGNO.[1]

De sancto Magno Martyre glorioso.

Beatus igitur Magnus apud Orchades insulas oriundus fuit, nobilissimus genere et alti sanguinis parentelæ. Pater ejus illarum insularum comes et dominus nominatissimus juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in terris. Mater ejus de nobilioribus illius terræ duxisse fertur originem. Sed cum in multis nobilitas generis parire soleat ignobilitatem mentis, Martyr beatus statim a primis infantiæ suæ rudimentis Sancti Spiritus unctione edoctus nobilitatem solam atque unicam animi virtutem reputabat. Agebat enim senem moribus, annis puer, lasciviæ puerilis expers. In gestu tam jocundus et hilaris, in sermone tam amabilis, in incessu[2] tam modestus exstitit et gravis, ut nihil appareret in eo, quod posset offendere intuentes. Sed quia ex convictu mores formantur, et qui tangit picem, inquinabitur ab ea : cum ad intelligibilem ætatem pervenisset, inter tam furialem quam feralem gentem constitutus, inter protervos ad mores, ferales ad ritus, ad fidem impios, ad legem barbaros, pronos ad vitia,[3] cervicosos ad disciplinam, se illorum moribus per dies aliquot cœpit conformare, marinus prædo existere, rapinis et spoliis vivere, cædibus indulgere. Quod tamen, magis pravorum instinctu provocatus quam propria iniquitate pulsatus, creditur actitasse. Denique cum beatus Magnus hujusmodi sceleribus implicaretur, ad hoc tandem ventum est, ut patrem et germanum comitatus Hatlandiam applicaret. Quos rex

[1] From Cd. Chart. Arna-Magn. 670. f. 4to., compared with a copy made by Arni Magnus' son from the fragment of a lost vellum MS. The Cd. 670 is here in the notes marked *a.*, and the copy of the fragment *b.*

[2] *in incessu*] fr. b. ; et in sensu, *a.*

[3] *vitia*] lites, fr. *b.*

Noruegiæ, in expeditione positus cum infinita navium et armorum multitudine, utpote exteras nationes invasurus,[1] comprehendens, inimicis secum resistere coegit.

Tunc patre ejus apud Norvegiam rebus humanis exempto, quidam Hako nomine, filius patrui sui irruens in quendam procuratorum regis Norvegiæ, qui patriam[2] beati Magni ex parte regis administrabat, dominium[3] Orkadiæ sibi subjugavit, cum non nisi pars dimidia ei de jure competeret, alia autem pars ad beatum Magnum jure hæreditario spectabat. Beatus igitur Magnus ut invidiæ locum daret et furorem Hakonis ad tempus declinaret, ad regem Henricum filium Vilhelmi, qui tunc temporis monarchiam Angliæ fræno moderabat justitiæ, iter arripuit.

Qui cum ad prædictum regem venisset, expositis negotiis et causis itineris sui, ab eodem honorifice est receptus. Visitatis igitur sanctorum locis ad propriam terram itineris sui cursum expedivit. Prædictus interim Hako non solum Orkadiam verum et Cathaniam tam invasionis quam prædicationis titulo suæ tyrannidi subjugavit. Satellites autem sui in necem beati Magni conspirantes, sed simulationis nube palliantes, cum beato viro pacifice in dolo locuti sunt ut beatus Magnus et Hako statuto die in quadam insula, quæ vocatur Egelesio cum pari numero hominum et armorum convenirent. Placuit hoc beato utpote homini serenatæ conscientiæ, cui vivere Christus et mori lucrum. Ad prædictam igitur insulam, in qua mansio sua sita erat, cum duabus longis navibus, nullam mali habens suspicionem, pervenit. Imminente vero die statuto inter eos, prædictus Hako cum septem vel octo

[1] After "invasurus," fr. *b.* has the following:—"Comprehendens "multos (*sic*) secum residere coe- "git. Sed omnipotens Deus, cui "proprium est misereri semper et "parcere, electum suum a talibus "voluit mercimoniis suspendere, et "ostendere illi, quanta oporteret "eum pati pro nomine ipsius, ut "qui sanguinem innocentem mul- "totiens fuderat ipse quandoque "Spiritus Sancti victima fieret, ut "proprium sanguinem Christo li- "baret. Unde contigit, ut de manu "violenti regis et prædatoris eva . "...." Reliqua desunt.

[2] *patriam*] patrimonium.

[3] *dominium*] dominum, Cd.

navibus plenis, viris Belial et sanguinem sitientibus sibi associatis, prædictam insulam applicuit. Seditionem igitur Hakonis comperiens Beatus Magnus se totum Deo committens, non timore perterritus nec formidine perculsus, ecclesiam adiit.

Suis igitur vi vim repellere volentibus fertur respondisse, se malle injuriam accipere quam irrogare. Erat autem hora, qua sacerdos, vestibus sacris indutus in altari Unigenitum Patris sub specie panis et vini in signum humanæ reconciliationis præsentavit. Sed prædictus Hako, ecclesiasticæ dignitatis abutens privilegio, ecclesiam Dei invadere non formidabat, missis apparitoribus suis quatuor, quorum pedes veloces ad effundendum sanguinem, qui ad omne opus nepharium cæteris promptiores et velociores, ut christum Domini raperent et illum sibi præsentarent. Irruentibus igitur in ecclesiam Domini apparitoribus, justus ab injustis injuste rapitur, extrahitur, et Hakonis præsentiæ præsentatur, in tali constantia perseverans, ut nec corpus terrore nec mens horrore concuteretur. Nec mora, electus Dei Magnus ab Hakone lictori tradebatur ut capitis sententia plecteretur. Eductus ergo hilari mente et intrepido animo quasi ad epulas invitatus, agonem suum Domino precibus commendans, securi bis in cerebrum suum vibrata, securus ictum ferientis suscepit. Sed quem lictor exemit mundo, Jhesus Christus inseruit cœlo, sublimiter collocatum.[1] Mater vero illius Yra[2] nomine ad Hakonem accedens christianam sepulturam beato martyri vix obtinuit impetrare.

Collecta. Deus, cujus nutu absque sanctorum solatio, nullius temporis præterit cursus, tribue nobis tua piissima dignatione, ut sancti Magni martyris tui pia interventione, in cunctis adversitatibus assiduâ tuæ magnæ misericordiæ mereamur potiri consolatione. Per Dominum. Amen.

[1] *collocatum*] emend., collocatus, Cd. | [2] *Yra*] for Thora.

II.

HORÆ.

In Festo Magni Comitis Martyris.

In Solennitate[1] *Sancti Magni Martyris duplex Festum super Psalmos feriales.* [*Ad primas Vesperas.*]

Antiphona.

In hymnis fidelium vox pulset cœlestia,
Magni dum recolitur martyris victoria.

Capitulum.

Beatus vir.[2] [qui suffert tentationem: quoniam cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitæ; quam repromisit Deus diligentibus, etc. Deo gratias. S. Jac. 1, 12.]

Require in communi unius Martyris.

Responsorium.

Magne Dei miles tua festa tuere colentes
Orcades, alme Comes digne rege te venerantes,
Pelle pater pestes nostras, pius ablue sordes.

Versus.

Funde preces, tecum regnemus ut omne per ævum.
Pelle pater pestes nostras, pius ablue sordes.
Gloria Patri.

Hymnus.

Hymnis perdulcibus Magni præconia,
Corde[3] vocibus pangamus inclita:
Ejus mirifica promentes opera
Jugi digna memoriâ.

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[1] "Solennitate." Ex Breviario Aberdonensi, pars hiem., in propr. Sanct., fol. 87, seq., coll. cum Vitâ Sancti Magni in Actis Sanctorum Boll., Die decimâ sextâ Aprilis.

[2] "Beatus vir." The portions within brackets have been filled in from the Sarum Breviary by the kindness of the Rev. Canon Cooke.

[3] "Corde," "Cordis" Boll.

Hic ex prosapiâ magnâ progenitus
In pueritiâ vixit divinitus:
Post hoc est fructus horum sceleribus[1]
In gente nequam alitus.

Ut Paulus Domino Magnus convertitur,
Christum ex animo toto consequitur:
Ardere creditur sed non exuritur
Rubus dum florens cernitur.

Sic in cubiculo sponsus cum virgine,
Insigni titulo, pro! continentiæ,
Vivit a venere divino munere
Annis decem continue.

De templo trahitur Magnus dominico,
Repletus patitur ex Sacrificio,
Migrat de prælio rubens martyrio,
Castoque candens lilio.

Hujus ut passio nostrorum criminum
Fiat ablutio, poscamus Dominum:
Ut nobis gaudium post hoc exilium
Largiatur perpetuum.

Honor laudatio per mundi climata
Uni sit Domino, trinoque gloria
In trinâ machinâ qui regit omnia
Per cuncta semper sæcula.
Amen.

Versus.

Gloria et honore [coronasti eum Domine:

Responsorium.

Et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum.]
[Ps. 8. 6.]

Antiphona.

Dulce melos in hoc solennio
Summi Regis cantemus Filio,

[1] "Fructus horum sceleribus," "factus homo sceleribus" Boll. rightly.

Hostem vicit cujus suffragio
Martyr Magnus victor suo[1] gladio;
Cujus nobis sit sacra translatio
Contra hostes perpes tuitio.

Hæc antiphona dicetur in translatione ejusdem Sancti, viz. "Dulce melos." *Alia antiphona quæ habetur in isto festo, scil. in passione.*

Antiphona.

Lux dicata Magni martyrio
Instat jugi colenda gaudio;
Quâ mutatur grato commercio
Mors in vitam, in plausum passio:
O mors felix, cujus supplicium
Vitæ reddit æternæ premium.

Psalmus.

Magnificat. [Luc. 1, 46.]

Oratio.

Sancti Magni martyris tui Domine merita preciosa nos tueant, in quibus majestatis tuæ opera predicantes, et presens capiamus adjutorium pariter et futurum. Per Dominum [nostrum Jesum Christum].

Ad Matutinum.

Invitatorium.

Sancti Magni colentes solennia,
Regis Regum laudemus magnalia.

Psalmus.

Venite. [Ps. 94, 1.]

Hymnus.

Hymnis prædulcibus etc., *ut supra.*

In primo nocturno, antiphona.

Magnus ex prosapiâ magnâ procreatus,
Actum[2] vitâ moribus major est probatus.

[1] "suo," "sub" Boll. rightly. | [2] "Actum," "Actu" Boll. rightly.

Psalmus.

Beatus vir. [Ps. 1, 1.]

Antiphona.

Prædis vacans primitus[1] pravorum instinctu
Et[2] Paulus convertitur in viæ procinctu.

Psalmus.

Quare fremuerunt gentes. [Ps. 2, 1.]

Antiphona.

Saulus ecce Paulus fit, prædo fit patronus,
Persecutor factus est plebis pastor bonus.

Psalmus.

Domine quid. [Ps. 3, 1.]

Versus.

Gloria et honore [ut sup.]

Lectio prima.

Beatus Magnus apud Orcadas insulas oriundus nobilissimo genere et alti sanguinis parentelâ fuit. Pater illarum insularum comes et dominus nominatissimus fuisse dicitur juxta nomina magnorum qui sunt in terris. Mater vero haud nec (*sic*) minori sanguinis propagine decorata. Sed cum multis nobilitas generis parare soleat ignobilitatem mentis, Beatus Magnus adhuc infantulus, divinâ instinctus gratiâ, nobilitatem virtutis sanguinis nobilitatem longe præcellere censuit.

Responsorium.

Novâ mundus resultet gloriâ,[3]
Sancti Magni plaudens victoriâ,
Qua cœlestis exultat curia.

[1] "primitus," "juvenis," Boll.
[2] "Et," "Ut" Boll. rightly.
[3] "Gloria." For this line Boll. reads "Per nova mundus resultet "gaudia," less rightly.

Versus.

Gaude tellus felix Orcadia
Novæ lucis refulgens gratiâ
Qua cœlestis exultat curia.

Lectio secunda.

Agebat enim senem moribus, annis puer expars (*sic*) lasciviæ puerilis, in gestu tam jocundus et hilaris, in sermone tam amabilis et affabilis, in incessu tam modestus exstitit et gravis, ut nil appareret in eo quod possit offendere intuentes aut vicio eisdem apprehendi.

Responsorium.

Mali bonos solent pervertere
Quibus victis[1] primævo tempore
Prædis Magnus cœpit insistere.

Versus.

Sed electum Deus eripere
Non moratur de mortis fœdere.
Prædis Magnus cœpit insistere.

Lectio tertia.

Nam patre ejus apud Norvagiam rebus humanis exempto, quidam Haco nomine, filius patrui sui, irruens in quendam procuratorem regis Norvagiæ qui patrem[2] Beati Magni ex parte regis administrabat, dominium totius comitatus Orcadiæ sibi subjugaret[3]; cum non nisi pars dimidia totius comitatus Orcadiæ de jure competeret, alia enim pars ad Beatum Magnum jure spectabat hæreditario.

Responsorium.

Magnus prædo mutatur penitus,
De raptore fit pater inclitus,
Agnus redit ad caulam perditus.

[1] "Victis," "Victus" Boll. rightly.
[2] "Patrem," "partem" Boll. rightly.
[3] "Subjugaret," "subjugabat" Boll.

Versus.

Sacri plenus affatu[1] Spiritus
Gregem regit hic vervex reditus.[2]
Agnus redit ad caulam perditus.
Gloria [Patri, etc.]

In secundo nocturno, antiphona.

Vir sanctus in comitem digne sublimatus,
Carnem per continuos domat cruciatus.

Psalmus.

Cum invocarem. [Ps. 4, 2.]

Antiphona.

Justus, pius, humilis, et modestus
Iste suis præfuit exemplis honestus.

Psalmus.

Verba mea. [Ps. 5, 2.]

Antiphona.

Magnus inter cæteros gratia divina
Plenus fulget velut stella matutina.

Psalmus.

Domine Dominus. [Ps. 6. 1.]

Versus.

Posuisti, Domine, super caput ejus :

Responsorium.

[Coronam de lapide pretioso].

Lectio quarta.

Nec mora totius sceleris armariolum predictus Haco et satillites (satellites) sui in necem Beati Magni conspiraverunt : seditionem igitur cum Beato Magno pacifice palliantes in dolo locuti scilicet, ut Beatus

[1] "Affatu," "afflatu" Boll. rightly.

[2] "Reditus," "redditus" Boll.

Magnus et Haco statuto die in quandam insulam quæ dicitur Eglissei ecclesia cum pari numero et armorum convenirent, fœdus percuterent, pacem prolocutam firmarent, ne in futurum contentionis scrupulus processu temporis reduceretur et pax firmata deformaretur nequaquam.

Responsorium.

Preter carnem in carne vivere,
Studet Magnus divino munere,
Miro pœne[1] se domans genere.

Versus.

Annis decem in thoro virginis
Labe carens mansit libidinis,
Miro pœne[1] se domans genere.

Lectio quinta.

Placuit hoc Beato Magno, et ad prædictam insulam in qua mansio sita erat, cum duabus longis navibus nullius mali habens suspicionem pervenit. Imminente vero die inter eos statuto prædictus Haco cum septem vel octo navibus viris sanctorum Christi sanguinem sitientibus onustis sibi associatis prædictam insulam applicuit. Seditionem igitur Haconis comperiens, nec formidine percussus ecclesiam adiit : suis igitur vim repellere volentibus, et Haconis furori resistere suggerentibus, fertur respondisse se malle injuriam accipere quam irrogare, sciens quod omnis fraus in se reversa colliditur.

Responsorium.

Haco Magni terras et prædia
Sibi subdens invasit omnia,
Contra mitem furit insania.

Versus.

Nullâ Magnus fractus injuriâ
Cuncta suffert mirâ constantiâ.
Contra mitem furit insania.

[1] "Pœne," "plane" Boll.

Lectio sexta.

Erat autem hora in quâ sacerdos, sacris vestibus indutus, in altari Unigenitum Patri sub panis specie et vini in signum humanæ reconciliationis presentavit, nec ab re illum hoc fecisse credendum est ut illic hostia fieret ubi totius mundi hostia salutaris offerebatur. Missis quidem (*sic*) igitur quatuor apparitoribus quorum pedes veloces ad effundendum sanguinem erant, qui ad omne opus nefarium cæteris omnium proniores essent et promptiores, Christum Dei rapere, et illum sibi præsentari constituunt. O quam dira et inaudita presumtio! lupi crudelis immanitas ovem rapere, lacerare atque jugulare in pastorum presentiâ non veretur. Irruentibus igitur in ecclesiam Dei apparitoribus, justus ab injustis injuste rapitur, extrahitur et Haconis presentiæ presentatur. Nec mora electus, est (*sic*) datâ ab Hacone sententiâ, lictori traditur ut capitali sententiâ plecteretur.

Responsorium.

Cessit Magnus furentis odio,
Rex Anglorum quem sumptu regio
Suo digne fovet palatio.

Versus.

Anni redit transacti spatio
Nutu Dei tutus martyrio,
Rex digne suo fovet palatio.
Gloria Patri.

In tertio nocturno, antiphona.

Vir Sanctus ad propria reversus componit
Cum Hacone perfido, qui fraudem disponit,
Expetit ecclesiam, quâ fraude compertâ
Ut pararet hostiam se Christo spe certâ.

Psalmus.

In Domino confido. [Ps. 10, 1.]

Antiphona.

Hostes turbat Comitis mora salutaris,
Hostiâ dum refici expectat altaris;
Sanctum trahunt, rapiunt, templum irrumpentes,
Sacro plenum pabulo extrahunt amentes.

Psalmus.

Domine quis. [Ps. 14, 1.]

Antiphona.

Haconis presentiæ Magnus presentatur,
Sitit agni sanguine lupus fore satur,
Protulit sententiam ut morti tradatur,
Et lictori traditur ut hanc exequatur.

Psalmus.

Domine in virtute. [Ps. 20, 1.]

Versus.

Justus ut palma florebit [in domo Domini plantatus.

Responsorium.

Gaudeamus et exultemus in ejus sacrâ solemnitate.]

Lectio septima.

Evangelium secundum Johannem iii. c.

In illo tempore dixit Jesus discipulis suis, Nisi granum frumenti cadens in terra mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet. Et reliqua.

Ex eâdem historiâ.

Eductus igitur hilari mente et intrepido animo quasi ad epulas invitatus agonem suum Domino precibus commendans, securi bis in cerebrum suum vibratâ ictum ferientis suscepit. Sed quem lictor exemit mundo hunc Christus intulit cœlo. Corpus solo sternitur, sed anima in cœlo sublimatur.

Responsorium.

Novi inde regnat perfidia,
Alter Abel fratris invidiâ

Ruit, victor regnat in gloriâ.
Plangens ista plaudit Orcadia.

Versus.

Haco Magno sub pacis basio
Mortem parat fraudis consilio.
Plangens ista plaudit Orcadia.

Lectio octava.

Hodie depositis corruptibilibus exuviis ascendit supernis; et est ei honor et gloria coram simul discumbentibus; ascendit inquam claris[1] meritis, triumphis gloriosus. Passus est Beatus Magnus martyr proprio sanguine laureatus, anno Domini millesimo centesimo quarto, sextodecimo Kalend. Maii, feriâ secundâ.

Responsorium.

Hostes movet Magni collegium,
Propulsare et scelus nefarium,
Sanctus auctorque fore tædium[2]
Mavult gratis pati martyrium.

Versus.

Suis pacem lætus obtinuit,
Dum grex abit pastor occubuit,
Mavult gratis pati martyrium.

Lectio nona.

Nunc ergo dilectissimi sanguinarios affectus propulsantes et cœlestia desideria Dei invitantes[3] subjugatis vitiorum incursibus, ipsius meritis vestigiis toto mentis desiderio, in quantum nostra fragilitas permittit, inhærere studeamus; ipse sit forma cui impremamur,[4] exemplar quod imitemur. Ergo devotionis legibus et

[1] "Claris," "clarus" Boll. rightly.

[2] "Sanctus auctorque fore tædium," The Boll. Coll. reads "Sanctus retorquens ferre tœdium."

[3] "Invitantes," imitantes?

[4] "impremamur," "imprimamus" Boll.

debitæ reverentiæ destitutis, mole peccaminum nostrorum pressi, Beati martyris præsidium efflagitemus, quatenus ipsius meritis et precibus suffragantibus coronæ immarcescibilis, quam hodiernâ die consecutus est, participes effici mereamur, præstante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus.

Responsorium.

Jesu pie, nos Magni precibus,
Noxæ reos absolve nexibus,
Condemnati carnis operibus,
Ne privemur supernis sedibus.

Versus.

Mentes nostras illustra moribus,
Pacem dona nostris temporibus,
Condemnati carnis operibus,
Ne privemur supernis[1] sedibus.

Gloria Patri.

Versus.

Ora pro nobis beate martyr Magne.

In Laudibus, antiphona.

Favus stillans frangitur mellis dans dulcorem,
Mala quæque fugiunt cujus per odorem.

Psalmus.

Dominus regnavit. [Ps. 92, 1.]

Antiphona.

Vir sanctus occiditur cujus dant stuporem
Signa, cæcos luminant, temperant furorem.

Psalmus.

Jubilate. [Ps. 65, 1.]

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[1] "Supernis," "æternis" Boll.

Antiphona.

Surdi, muti, precibus Magni reparantur,
Claudis data sanitas, leprosi mundantur.

Psalmus.

Deus Deus meus. [Ps. 62, 1.]

Antiphona.

Ferro vincti martyris ope relaxantur,
Naufragantes nexibus mortis liberantur.

Psalmus.

Benedicite. [Ps. 65, 8.]

Antiphona.

Fit mœstis lætitia, ægris medicina,
Spes firma periculis, salus in ruina.

Capitulum.

Beatus vir, *ut supra.*

Hymnus.

Exultemus concrepantes sonora melodia
Sancti Magni venerantes martyris insignia,
Ejus digna prædicantes post palmam[1] miracula.

Odor manat en unguenti, alabastrum frangitur,
Quovis morbo gravescente salus vera redditur
Plebs concurrit, fit egenti cuiquam quod petitur.

Leprum mundat, et furorem pellit ab amentibus,
Contuendi dat vigorem privatis luminibus,
Mutis fandi præbet morem, gressum claudicantibus.

Ferro vincti relaxantur, surdi simul audiunt,
Casu fracti mox sanantur, mala quæque fugiunt,
Naufragantes liberantur dum procellæ sæviunt.

[1] "Palmam," "Mortem" Boll.

O quam probat hunc beatum ossis ejus ustio,
Bis fit auri crux crematum os, sed ossis tercio [1]
Crux fit os ejus sacratum, tam miro commercio.

Magne pater famulorum tibi supplicantium,
Sordes terge delictorum, fidem firma mentium,
Adeptores præmiorum quo simus cœlestium.

Laus perennis Trinitati, salus, virtus, gloria,
Uni decus Deitati, mirâ cujus gratiâ
Sui cuncti majestati serviunt per sæcula.
Amen.

Versus.

Justus germin[abit sicut lilium.

Responsorium.

Et florebit in æternum ante Dominum.]

Antiphona.

Magne pater conforta flebiles,
Ope piâ sustenta debiles,
Casu mortis eripe fragiles,
Regno vitæ ne sumus exules.

Psalmus.

Benedictus. [Luc. 1. 68.]

Oratio.

Deus cujus nutu absque sanctorum solatio nullius temporis præterit cursus, tribue nobis quæsumus tuâ piissimâ dignatione ut Sancti Magni martyris tui piâ interventione a cunctis adversitatibus assiduâ protectione tuæ magnæ misericordiæ mereamur potiri. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

Ad primam, antiphona.

Favus, etc. [ut supr.]

[1] "Bis fit," etc. Here the Boll. read "Bis ut aurum concrematur os, "sed ustum tercio."

Psalmus.

Deus in nomine tuo. [Ps. 53, 1.]

Antiphona.

Gratias tibi Deus.

Psalmus.

Quicunque vult.

Ad tertiam, antiphona.

Vir sanctus [ut supra, P. 312].

Psalmus.

Legem pone. [Ps. 119, 33–48.]

Capitulum.

Beatus vir *et alia capitula, ac Responsoria de communi unius martyris.*

Ad sextam, antiphona.

Surdi, etc. [ut supra, P. 316].

Ad nonam, antiphona.

Fit mœstis, etc. [ut supra, P. 316].

Ad secundas vesperas super psalmos feriales, antiphona.

Favus stillans, etc. [ut supra, P. 315].

Capitulum.

Beatus vir. [qui in sapientiâ morabitur, et qui in justitiâ suâ meditabitur, et in sensu cogitabit circumspectionem Dei. Eccl. ch. 14. 22.]

Hymnus.

Exultemus [ut supra, P. 316].

Versus.

Justus germinabit, etc. [ut supra, P. 317].

Antiphona.

Hic vir [despiciens mundum et terrena triumphans,
Divitias cælo condidit, ore, manu.]

Psalmus.

Magnificat [ut supra].

Oratio ut supra.

III.

HORÆ

In Festo Translationis Sancti Magni.

Memoria[1] *de translatione Sancti Magni martyris et cum hâc oratione. Oratio.*

Sancti Magni martyris tui translationem venerantes te Domine suppliciter, deprecamur, dum tuo in honore solennia ejus colimus, præsens ipsius æternum capiamus adjutorium pariter et futurum. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

Antiphona.

Dulce melos in hoc solennio,
Summi Regis cantemus Filio,
Hostem vicit cujus suffragio
Martyr Magnus victor sub gladio.
Cujus nobis sit sacra translatio
Contra hostes perpes tuitio.

The Responses to the nine lections at matins form the following hymn, as is pointed out in the Acta Sanct.

Novâ mundus resultet gloriâ
Sancti Magni plaudens victoria.
Qua cœlestis exultat curia.

Mali bonos solent pervertere,
Quibus victus primevo tempore
Prædis Magnus cœpit insistere.

Magnus prædo mutatur penitus,
De raptore fit pater inclitus,
Agnus redit ad caulam perditus.

---

[1] "Memoria." Ex Brev. Aberd. Pars hiem., in propr. Sanct., fol. 17, v. Die decimâ sextâ Decembris.

Preter carnem in carne vivere,
Studet Magnus divino munere,
Miro pœne se domans genere.

Haco Magni terras et prædia
Sibi subdens invasit omnia,
Contra mitem furit insania.

Cessit Magnus furentis odio,
Rex Anglorum quem sumptu regio
Suo digne fovet palatio.

Novi inde regnat perfidia,
Alter Abel fratris invidiâ
Ruit, victor regnat in gloriâ.
Plangens ista plaudit Orcadia.

Hostes movet Magni collegium
Propulsare et scelus nefarium,
Sanctus retorquens ferre tædium,
Mavult gratis pati martyrium.

Jesu pie, nos Magni precibus,
Noxæ reos absolve nexibus,
Condemnati carnis operibus,
Ne privemur supernis sedibus.

The antiphons form another hymn as follows.

Magnus ex prosapiâ magnâ procreatus,
Actum vitâ moribus major est probatus.
Prædis vacans primitus pravorum instinctu
Ut Paulus convertitur in viæ procinctu.

Saulus ecce Paulus fit, prædo fit patronus,
Persecutor factus est plebis pastor bonus.
Vir sanctus in comitem digne sublimatus
Carnem per continuos domat cruciatus.

Justus, pius, humilis, et modestus
Iste suis præfuit exemplis honestus.
Magnus inter cæteros grátiâ divinâ
Plenus fulget velut stella matutina.

Vir Sanctus ad propria reversus componit
Cum Hacone perfido, qui fraudem disponit,
Expetit ecclesiam, quâ fraude compertâ
Ut pararet hostiam se Christo spe certâ.

Hostes turbat Comitis mora salutaris,
Hostiâ dum refici expectat altaris;
Sanctum trahunt, rapiunt, templum irrumpentes,
Sacro plenum pabulo extrahunt amentes.

Haconis presentiæ Magnus presentatur,
Sitit agni sanguine lupus fore satur,
Protulit sententiam ut morti tradatur,
Et lictori traditur ut hanc exequatur.

Favus stillans frangitur mellis dans dulcorem
Mala quæque fugiunt cujus per odorem.
Surdi, muti, precibus Magni reparantur,
Claudis data sanitas, leprosi mundantur.

Ferro vincti martyris ope relaxantur,
Naufragantes nexibus mortis liberantur.
Fit mœstis lætitia, ægris medicina,
Spes firma periculis, salus in ruinâ.

IV.

AD MISSAM.

In Festo[1] Magni Martyris.

Officium.

Protexisti me Deus a conventu malignantium. Alleluia. A multitudine operantium iniquitatem. Alleluia. Alleluia. [Ps. 63. v. 2.]

Psalmus.

Exaudi Deus orationem meam cum deprecor: a timore inimici eripe animam meam. [Ps. 63. v. 1.]

Collecta.

Adesto Domine supplicationibus nostris: et intercedente beato Magno martire tuo ab hostium nos defende propiciatus incursu. Per Dominum.

Epistola.

Lectio epistole beati Jacobi apostoli (c. i. v. 2—12.)—Charissimi. Omne gaudium . . . . diligentibus se.

vel

Lectio Libri Sapientiæ (iv. 7—15) Justus si morte . . . . in electos illius.

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[1] These Masses for the Festival and for the Translation of S. Magnus are extracted from the Drontheim Missal printed at Copenhagen in 1519, of which the following are the title and colophon.

Title.—"Missale pro usu totius regni Norwegii | secundum ritus sancte Metropolitane | Nidrosiensis ecclesie. Corre | ctum atque cum diligentia visus | castigatum et revisum. In | cipit in nomine do | mini."

Colophon.—"Missale secundum usum ecclesie Ni | drosiensis finit feliciter. Impres | sum Haffnïe arte magistri Pau | li Reff: ibidem Canonici ac | sanctissimi domini nostri Pape ad | titulum Nidrosiensis ecclesie Acco | liti. Anno domini M.CCCCC. xix. Die vero. xxv. Maii." This Missal has been kindly lent by the Rev. W. J. Blew through the Rev. Canon Cooke.

Alleluia.

Egregie martyr Christi Magne pro nobis implora ad Dominum Jesum Christum.

Aliud de resurrectione.[1] Alleluia. *Versus.* Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus.

Evangelium.

Secundum Matheum [x. 34–42.] In illo tempore dixit Jesus, Nolite . . . . non perdet mercedem suam.

Offertorium.

Confitebuntur celi mirabilia tua Domine et[2] veritatem tuam in ecclesiâ sanctorum. [Ps. 88. v. 6.] Alleluia. Alleluia.

Secreta.

Presentia munera quesumus Domine serenâ pietate intuere: ut Sancti Spiritus perfundantur benedictione et in nostris cordibus eam dilectionem validam infundant, per quam sanctus martyr Magnus omnia corporis tormenta devicit. Per Dominum eundem.

Communio.

Letabitur justus in Domino et sperabit in eo, et laudabuntur omnes recti corde. [Ps. 63. v. 10.]

Complenda.

Sumpsimus Domine sancti martiris tui Magni solemnitate celestia sacramenta cujus suffragiis quesumus largiaris, ut quod temporaliter gerimus eternis gaudiis consequamur. Per Dominum.

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[1] This Aliud de resurrectione, *i.e.*, "the second Alleluia, is that of the Feast of the Resurrection," is explained by a Rubric of the Sarum Missal. "*Istud* Alleluya. V. "Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus" *dicitur in loco Gradalis in Octavis Pentecostes, et omnibus Dominicis abhinc usque ad Ascensionem Domini, ad Missam de Resurrectione.*" The Drontheim Use extends it to the Festival of S. Magnus, for which no Gradual is provided; and also to those Festivals, which fall between Easter and the Ascension, viz.:—SS. Tibertius and Valerian, S. Magnus S. George, S. Mark. Ev.—Wm. C.

[2] "Et." The Vulgate has *etenim* for *et.*

V.

AD MISSAM.

In Festo Translationis Magni Martyris.

Officium.

Gloriâ et honore coronasti eum et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum. [Ps. 8. v. 5, 6.]

Versus.

Domine Deus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in omni terra. [Ps. 8. v. 9.]

Collecta.

Adesto Domine supplicationibus nostris, et intercedente beato Magno martyre tuo ab hostium nos defende propiciatus incursu. Per Dominum.

Lectio.

Justus si morte . . . . . in electos illius. [Libri. Sap. 4. v. 7—15.]

Gradale.

Posuisti Domine super caput ejus coronam de lapide precioso. [Ps. 20. v. 3.]

Versus.

Desiderium animæ ejus tribuisti ei, et voluntate labiorum ejus non fraudasti eum. [Ps. 20. v. 2.]

Versus.

Alleluia. Beatus vir qui timet Dominum, in mandatis ejus cupit[1] nimis. [Ps. 111. v. 1.]

Evangelium.

Secundum Matheum [x. 34—42.] In illo tempore dixit Jesus, Nolite . . . . non perdet mercedem suam.

[1] "Cupit." The Vulgate reads *volet* for *cupit*.

Offertorium.

Posuisti Domine in capite ejus coronam de lapide precioso.

Secreta.

Presentia munera quæsumus Domine serenâ pietate intuere, ut Sancti Spiritus perfundantur benedictione et in nostris cordibus eam dilectionem validam infundant, per quam sanctus martyr Magnus omnia corporis tormenta devicit. Per Dominum eundem.

Communio.

Posuisti Domine in capite ejus coronam de lapide precioso.

Complenda.[1]

Sumpsimus Domine sancti martiris tui Magni solempnitate celestia sacramenta cujus suffragiis quæsumus largiaris, ut quod temporaliter gerimus eternis gaudiis consequamur. Per Dominum.

[1] "Complenda." In the Drontheim Missal this term is synonymous with the *Postcommunio* of other Missals.

VI.

AD MISSAM.

In Festo Translationis Magni Ducis-Martyris.[1]

Officium.

Lætabitur justus [in Domino, et sperabit in eo, et laudabuntur omnes recti corde. [Ps. 63. 10.]

Oratio, Collecta.

Deus qui immensæ pietatis judicio corpus sancti Magni martyris et consulis ad honorem nominis tui revelasti: Concede nobis famulis tuis, ut ejus patrocinantibus meritis transferamur ad amœna loca felicitatis. Per [Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.]

Epistola.

Nemo militans. [Timoth. 2. ch. 2. v. 4–10.]

Gradale.

Posuisti Domine [super caput ejus coronam de lapide pretioso. Ps. 20. v. 43.]

Alleluia.

Versus.

Egregie martyr Christi, implo[ra pro nobis ad Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum].

Sequentia.

Comitis generosi,
militis gloriosi
martyris certamina
concinat Orchadi[c]a
gens plaudens; nam cælica
terit Magnus limina.

[1] From Cd. Chart. Arn.-Magn. 670, f. 4to., in the autograph of Arni Magnus' son, from a lost vellum. On this Sequence Arni Magnus' son makes the following note: "Super totam hanc Sequentiam "sunt lineæ cum notulis cantoriis." He also adds: "Exscriptum ex "libro Officiorum Sacrorum in "grandi folio, quem nactus sum "Scardi Scardstrandensium in oc- "cidentali Islandia." The notes are, unfortunately, lost. The portions within brackets have been filled in from other Missals.

Magnum probant opera
quæ Dei per munera
agit dignus nomine.
Spreto virgo sæculo
annorum[1] curriculo
decem est cum virgine.
Quod ostendit et portendit
casu fractus[2] ovem nactus
puerili præmio.
Habens ita, orat vitâ
ne privetur, cui medetur
Magni interventio.
Qui a pacto primitus
resilire monitus
eligit sagacius
illud quod est melius.
Mori pro justitia
optat Dei gratiâ,
suscepturus gaudia,
ditandus in gloriâ.
In agone spe coronæ
martyr sudat, quod denudat
sanguinis dispersio.
Deo gratus, solo stratus,
non invitus, nunc præditus
est cælesti solio.
Mœstis risus impenditur,
cæcis visus aperitur
ejus patrocinio:
Præsul orat ut sanetur,
et implorat quod medetur
mox precum obsequio.
Morbo lepræ medicamen,
nautis quidem est tutamen,
e diversis languoribus
plebem curat mortalibus.

[1] *annorum*] annori, Cd. | [2] jactus ?

Tribulatos cunctos audit,
prece, voto justis plaudit
plenus misericordiâ,
quæque fugat dæmonia.
O quam martyr hic beatus,
virgo fructu fossus latus,
ter centeno laureatus,
fruitur palatio.
Quos nos esse te laudantes,
tuum festum celebrantes
perpetuo Magne tuo
impetres colloquio :
Ut erepti tua prece
nos ab hostis sævi nece
collætemur, et privemur
Gehennæ supplicio. Amen.[1]

Evangelium.

In illis [diebus dixit Jesus], Nolite arbitrari. . . [mercedem suam. Matt. 10. 34–42.]

Offertorium.

Desiderium a[nimæ ejus tribuisti ei, et voluntate labiorum non fraudasti eum. Ps. 20. 2.]

Secreta.

Præsentia munera quæsumus, Domine, ita serena pietate intuere, ut Sancti Spiritus perfundantur benedictione, et in nostris cordibus eam dilectionem validam infu[n]dant, per quam sanctus martyr Magnus omnia corporis tormenta devicit. Per [Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.]

Communio.

Posuisti Domine [super caput ejus coronam de lapide pretioso. Ps. 20. 43.]

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[1] Hactenus notæ cantoriæ cum suis lineis. (A.M.)

Post-Communio.

Sumpsimus, Domine, Sancti Magni martyris solemnitate, cœlestia sacramenta, cujus suffragiis quæsumus largiaris, ut quod temporaliter gerimus, æternis gaudiis consequamur. Per [Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.[1]]

Vigiliâ[2] Thomæ Apostoli, etc.

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[1] *Amen.* The quotations of Scripture texts in these services are from the Latin Vulgate.

[2] *Vigiliâ.* That is the Vigil of St. Thomas the Apostle, which stood next in the Missal from which Arni Magnus' son copied.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.—EXTRACTS FROM SAGAS.

1. To chapters 1–4 (From Fl. Book, 1.21, 22).

1. How Norway was Inhabited.

How Norway was inhabited.

Now shall be told the proofs how Norway was first inhabited; or how kingly stocks began there or in other lands; or why they are called Skjoldungs, Budlungs, Bragnings, Ödlings, Völsungs, or Niflungs, from which the royal races have come :—

There was a man called Fornjot. He had three sons; one was Hler, another Logi, the third Kari; he ruled over winds, but Logi over fire, Hler over the seas. Kari was the father of Jökull, the father of king Snow. But the children of king Snow were these: Thorri, Fönn, Drifa, and Mjol. Thorri was a noble king; he ruled over Gothland, Kvenland, and Finland. To him the Kvens sacrificed that it might be snowy, and that there might be good going on snow-shoon. That was their harvest. That sacrifice was to be at mid-winter; and the month Thorri was called after it. King Thorri had three children; his sons were named Norr and Gorr, but the daughter Goi. Goi was lost and gone; and Thorri made a sacrifice a month later than he was wont to sacrifice; and they afterwards called that month in which this began Goi. Those two, Norr and Gorr, searched for their sister. Norr had great battles west of the Keel, and those kings fell before him who are so called: Vee and Vei, Hunding and Heming; and Norr laid under him

that land all to the sea. Those brothers met in that firth which is now called Norafirth. Norr fared thence up on the Keel and came to a place called Wolves-moor. Thence he fared round Eystridale and afterwards into Vermland, and along the lake called Væner, and so to the sea. And all that land Norr laid under him west of those bounds. That land is now called Nor-way. At mid-winter they came into Heidmark (Hedemark). There that king met them who was called Rolf of the Hill; he was the son of Svadi the giant from north of Dofra and of Ashilda daughter of king Eystein who had long ruled over Heidmark. Rolf of the Hill had seized Goi, and gone on to marry her. But when she heard of her brother Norr, then she fared to meet him, and Rolf with her; and he gave himself up into Norr's power, and was made his man. After that Norr went to a feast at his brother-in-law's, and Norr got to wife Hodda, a daughter of Svadi the giant, Rolf's sister. After that king Norr fared back west to the sea, and then he finds his brother Gorr. He was then come from the north out of the Frozen-sea, and had seized as his own all the isles on that way, both inhabited and uninhabited. Then these brothers shared the realm between them, so that Norr should have all the mainland from the north from Jötunheim and south to Alfheim. That is now called Norway; but Gorr should have all those isles which lay on the larboard of his war-ship as he fared north along the land. These were the sons of Gorr the sea-king: Heiti and Beiti, Meitir and Geitir. Beiti the sea-king fared with his war-ship into Drontheim and on into Beit-sea; he made them make a ship-sledge under the galley; but there was deep snow and good sledging. Then Beitir sat him on the poop, and put the rudder into gear, and made them hoist the sails; and let his men drag the galley north across Galley-neck to Naumdale, and claimed as his own all that land that lay on the larboard. Beiti the sea-king was the father of Heiti the sea-king, the father of Svadi; but Geitir was the father of Glammi and Gylfi. Meiti the sea-king

Norr and Gorr share the mainland and the isles of Norway between them.

was father of Mævil and Myndill. Myndill was the father of Ekkill and Skekkill.

Norr was the father of these men, but Hodda, the daughter of Svadi, their mother. (*Here follow the royal lineages descended from Norr, the ancestor of all future kings of the Norwegian Mainland.*)

2. To ch. 12. (From the Flatey Book).

Olaf Tryggvi's son sailed from the west to the Orkneys, *as was said before,* but because the Pentland Firth was not passable, he laid his ship up under the lee in Osmund's voe, off Rognvald's isle. But there in the voe lay already earl Sigurd, Hlodver's son, with three ships, and then meant to go a-roving. But as soon as king Olaf knew that the earl was there, he made them call him to come and speak with him. But when the earl came on board the king's ship, king Olaf began his speech thus: "It will be known to thee, earl "Sigurd, how Harold the fair-haired fared with his "host hither west when he had made all Norway his "own; king Harold won under himself the Orkneys "and Shetland, and many a realm besides here over "the western sea; the king gave the isles and Shet-"land to his earl Rognvald the mighty as an atone-"ment for his son, but Rognvald gave them to his "brother Sigurd; then Sigurd made himself king Ha-"rold's earl. Another time king Harold fared with a "very great host to fall on earl Einar; then goodwilling "men came between them, the king and Einar; and "they made peace on those terms, that the king called "his own all the Orkneys and Shetland. This was the "end of their quarrel, that the earl paid the king sixty "marks of gold for the slaying of Halfdan long-leg "his son, but earl Einar held the lands under king "Harold. A little while after king Eric, Harold's son, "came from the east from Norway; then the earls "Turf-Einar's sons, were bound to aid king Eric, and "this is a mark of it, that they gave the king much "force for war. But another time, when king Eric

King Olaf, Tryggvi's son, and earl Sigurd meet.

King Olaf's speech.

King Olaf's speech.

" came to the isles, he had away with him two earls
" Arnkell and Erlend, and left over the lands earl
" Thorfinn their brother; but they both fell in England
" with king Eric. After that came the sons of Eric
" from England, and then they had sway over the isles.
" But when they were away hence they made over the
" lands to earl Arnfinn their brother-in-law. After
" that Havard first took the rule after his brother,
" then Ljot, last of all Hlodver thy father. Now hast
" thou, Sigurd, the earldom over those realms which
" I call my owndom, as well as all those other realms
" which king Harold the fair-haired once had, and each
" of his kinsmen have taken as heirs one after the
" other. Thou knowest that now the sons of Eric and
" Gunnhilda are most of them put out of the way,
" but though Ragnhilda their sister still lives, yet it
" seems to me she must have done so much mischief
" to the Orkneyingers, that she can have neither rede
" nor rule here, but rather hath she utterly forfeited
" both life and lands, if all those ill deeds be true
" which are told of her, as men think it is much to be
" feared, and not unlikely that they are. Now as so
" it is, earl Sigurd, that things have fallen out so that
" thou hast come into my power, now thou hast two
" choices before thee very uneven; one is that thou
" shalt take the right faith, and become my man and
" allow thyself to be baptized and all thy undermen;
" then shalt thou have a sure hope of honour from
" me, and to have and to hold as my underman this
" realm with earl's title and full freedom as thou hast
" erewhile had it; and this over and above, which is
" much more worth, to rule in everlasting bliss in
" the kingdom of heaven with all-ruling God; that is
" sure to thee if thou keepest all his commandments.
" This is the other choice, which is very doleful and
" unlike the first, that now on the spot thou shalt die,
" and after thy death I will let fire and sword ruthlessly
" rage over all the Orkneys, burn and brand homesteads
" and men, unless this folk will have salvation and

" believe on the true God. And now if thou and thy " undermen will choose this which was last named, then " must thou, and all those who believe in divers idols, " be shamefully plagued in hell-fire after speedy death " with wicked devils without end." But when earl Sigurd had heard so long and clever a speech of king Olaf, he hardened his heart against him and spoke thus: "It must be told thee, king Olaf, that I have " firmly made up my mind that I will not, and may " not and shall not forego that faith which my kins- " men and forefathers had before me, for I know no " better counsel than they, and I know not that that " faith is better which thou preachest than this which " we have now had and held all our lives." And with that the king saw the earl so stiffnecked in his error, he seized his young son, whom the earl had with him, and who had grown up there in the isles. This son of the earl the king bore foreward on the prow, and drew his sword, and made ready to cut off the lad's head, with these words: "Now mayest thou see, earl " Sigurd, that I will spare no man who will not serve " Almighty God, or listen to my exhortations and " hearken to this blessed message; and for that I will " now on this very spot slay this thy son before thine " eyes, with this same sword which I grasp, unless " thou and thy men serve my God; for hence out of " the isles will I not go before I have forwarded and " fulfilled this his glorious errand, and thou and thy " son, whom I now hold, have taken on you baptism." And in the strait to which the earl was then come, he chose the choice which the king would have, and which was better for him, to take the right faith. Then the earl was baptized, and all the folk in the Orkneys. After that earl Sigurd was made after this world's honour king Olaf's earl, and held under him lands and fiefs, and gave him for an hostage that same son of his of whom it was spoken before; he was called Whelp or Hound. Olaf made them christen the lad by the name of Hlodver, and carried him away with

King Olaf's speech.

Earl Sigurd's answer.

The king threatens to kill the earl's son unless the earl will be baptized.

The earl is baptized and all his people.

The earl becomes king Olaf's vassal.

Olaf Tryggvi's son king of Norway, 995–1000.

him to Norway. Earl Sigurd bound with oaths all their agreement, and next after that king Olaf sailed away from the Orkneys, but set up there behind him priests to mend the folk's ways and teach them holy wisdom; so they, king Olaf and Sigurd, parted with friendship. Hlodver lived but a scanty time; but after that he is dead earl Sigurd showed king Olaf no service. He took to wife then the daughter of Malcolm, the Scot-king, and Thorfinn was their son.

Earl Sigurd weds the Scot-king's daughter.

3. To ch. 30 & 31. (From the Saga of Magnus the good, ch. 23 in the Hulda).

Earl Rognvald Brusi's son and Kalf Arni's son.

King Magnus gave Rognvald Brusi's son the title of earl, and sent him to his realm east in the Orkneys. The king got him men and ships as he needed. He set himself up in the isles, and had his realm in peace for a while, two shares of the Orkneys and Shetland; until earl Thorfinn, the uncle of earl Rognvald, claimed those lands which king Magnus had granted him. Thence arose disagreement and strife between those kinsmen, as is said in the Earls' Sagas, until earl Rognvald fled out of the isles before the overbearing might of earl Thorfinn away east to Norway to find king Magnus. Then the king again furnished him with ships, and got him the best choice of picked men out of his body-guard. He sent also his letters with his seal to Kalf Arni's son; he had been away west there since he fled the land in Norway, staying with his connexion earl Thorfinn; he had to wife Ingibjorg earls' mother, the daughter of Finn Arni's son. That stood in the letters of king Magnus, that Kalf should get all his estates in Norway, and along with them have the friendship of king Magnus, if he would give help to earl Rognvald in his quarrel with earl Thorfinn. But when Kalf had heard the letter he said little to show that he was pleased, but still answered, "Methinks," he says, "there is great risk in the stead-"fastness of temper of king Magnus. Before when I "laid myself out to make friends with him in every "thing, I was backbitten so that I had fly out of Nor-

" way, for my life was at stake." Earl Rognvald said " Thou must have heard this that the king has now for- " given all men that great quarrel in which he thought " the liegemen were most guilty against him, and has now " become dearly beloved by every man ; and thence it is " sure that thou mayst get great honour from the king, " if thou farest to meet him, for he is fast in all good " promises." So it was as though it all went out at Kalf's other ear, though he heard such things spoken. But when earl Thorfinn heard that earl Rognvald was come into the isles, he gathered to him a great force and fared against him. They met at the place called Red-head and fought, and it went better for earl Rognvald. Then Kalf ran up at last with six or seven long-ships on the side of earl Thorfinn his connexion, because of his egging on and reproaches. Then Thorfinn won the day. And afterwards the quarrel of the earls fared as is told in their Saga. After that battle Kalf Arni's son went out sea-roving and became a viking in the western sea.

Earl Rognvald Brusi's son and Kalf Arni's son.

4. To ch. 34. (From Fl. Book, col. 490).

Where they were standing there were berries on a mound. The king takes the berries and squeezes them in his palm. Then the king saw where the banner of the freemen was set up. Then he spoke and said, " Wretched " berries," quoth he. Rognvald Brusi's son answers, " You made a slip of the tongue just now, king, you " must have meant to say 'people.'" " Thou sayest " right, earl," quoth the king, " Thou wilt not make a " less slip of the tongue when thou hast but a short time " to live." That happened afterwards, as is said in the Earls' Sagas.

King Olaf's slip of the tongue.

5. To ch. 89–97 (From king Ingi's Saga in the Hulda ch. 17).

THE FOREIGN VOYAGE OF ERLING WRY-NECK.

Erling hight the son of Kyrping-Worm and Ragnhilda the daughter of Sveinki Steinar's son. Kyrping-Worm

Erling Wryneck's foreign voyage.

was a son of Sweyn, Sweyn's son, Erlend's son of Gerdi. The mother of Worm was Ragna a daughter of earl Worm Eilif's son, and Ingibjorg the daughter of earl Finn Arni's son. The mother of earl Worm was Ragnhilda a daughter of earl Hacon the mighty. Erling was a wise man and a great friend of king Ingi, and with his advice Erling got to wife Christine the daughter of king Sigurd and queen Malmfrid. Erling had his home at Studla in South Hordeland. Erling fared out of the land and with him Eindrid the young and many more liegemen still; they had picked crews. They busked them to fare to Jewry and fared west across the sea to the Orkneys. The leader of that voyage was earl Rognvald-Kali and along with him bishop William. And they had in all out of the Orkneys fifteen ships. First they sailed to the Southern isles (*sic.*) and thence west to France; and afterwards by that way which king Sigurd Jewry-farer had fared out to Nörva-Sound, and they harried far and wide in heathen Spain. A little after they had sailed through the Sound Eindrid the young parted from them, and those who followed him, with six ships, and they fared to Micklegarth. But earl Rognvald and Erling and their men fell on a Dromond alone on the sea, and ran up to her with nine ships and fought against them. But at last they ran their war-snakes under the Dromond; then the heathen men hurled down on them weapons and stones and pots full of boiling pitch and oil. Erling lay with his ship nearest in under the Dromond, and the shower of weapons of the heathen fell beyond that ship. Erling and his men hewed holes in the Dromond, some below under water, some up on the sides, so that they got in there. So says Thorbjorn Wryneck-Skald in Erling's Dirge.

He sails from the Orkneys with earl Rognvald, and helps to take the Dromond.

Thorbjorn's verses.

" Fearless then the Northmen bold
" Hewed with axe-edge gaps in hold;
" That was daring! while the wights
" Who sate the eagles[1] saw strange sights,

[1] " Wights who sate the eagles," a periphrasis for warriors.

" As they gazed down on each stroke
" That fell on iron binding oak;
" Till the skimmer of the seas
" Felt the shock in all her knees."

Erling goes to Palestine and returns to Norway.

Audun the red was the name of that man, Erling's bowman, who first boarded the Dromond. They won the Dromond, and slew there countless men; and took very much goods; and won a splendid victory. Earl Rognvald and Erling, who was afterwards called " wry-" neck," came in that voyage to Jewry-land, and out as far as the river Jordan. Then they turned back from abroad across the sea, and fared to Micklegarth. There they left their ships. They fared from abroad the land-way, and held on safe and sound till they came to Norway. And their voyage was very much praised. Erling was thought afterwards a much greater man than before, both for his journey and for his wedding. He was a sage in wit, wealthy, and great in his kinsmen, and a good speaker; he leant most in all friendship to king Ingi of all those brothers.

His friendship with king Ingi.

6. To ch. 99. (ch. 20 of king Ingi's Saga, from the Hkr, Hulda, and Hrokkin-skinna).

King Eystein's Western Voyage.

King Eystein's western voyage.

After that king Eystein began his voyage out of the land west across the sea, and sailed to Caithness. He heard that earl Harold Maddad's son was in Thurso. He ran in with three small cutters, and came upon them unawares. But the earl had a ship of thirty benches and eighty men aboard her. But as they were unready, then king Eystein and his men were able to board the ship at once, and they took the earl prisoner, and carried him off to their ships. He ransomed himself with three marks of gold. And they parted as things stood. So says Einar Skuli's son.

" Eighty men by Maddad's son
" Stood while Sogn's king came on;

He takes earl Harold prisoner.

" The glory of the ocean lord
" That sates the sea-mew blazed abroad:
" With cutters three the prince that teazes
" Sea-horses[1] the proud earl seizes;
" He that erns hath often fed,
" Gave back to noble chief his head."

His warfare at Aberdeen.

King Eystein sailed thence south along the coast of Scotland, and came off that town in Scotland which is called Aberdeen, and slew there many men, and plundered the town. So says Einar Skuli's son.

" I have heard that prince so keen
" Wasted peace at Aberdeen;
" There before him warriors fell,
" And swords were shivered, as they tell."

at Hartlepool,

Another battle he had south at Hartlepool with a band of horsemen, and he put them to flight, and cleared there the decks of some ships. So says Einar.

" The king's blade bit well,
" On spear-point blood fell,
" His comrades stood cool,
" Before Hartle-pool:
" Hot rivers of blood
" Gladdened ravens so good,
" And wolf's wine[2] rose red,
" As the English ships fled."

and Whitby.

Then he held on south to England, and had a third battle at Whitby, and got the victory, but burnt the town. So says Einar.

" The hero waged war,
" Swords sung from afar,
" And war-clouds[3] were cleft,
" Ere Whitby was left:

[1] " That teazes sea-horses" that wearies his ship by fast sailing.

[2] " Wolf's wine," a periphrasis for blood.

[3] " War-clouds," a periphrasis for shields.

" Over roof-trees the hound
" Of the pine-wood[1] did bound;
" And wolves' fangs were red
" As folk in fear fled."

His warfare in England at Skarp-skerry,

After that he harried far and wide in England. Stephen was then king in England. Next after that king Eystein had a battle at Skarp-skerry with some knights. So says Einar.

" By Skerry of Scarp,
" While string-rain[2] flew sharp,
" The king fought his way
" Through a shielded array."

Pilawick,

Then next he fought at Pilawick, and got the victory. So says Einar.

" The chief dyed his sword
" In Pila-wick's firth,
" While Odin's grim horde[3]
" Tore tall corses from Perth:
" West o'er the sea-waves
" On foreheads brand crashes,
" When Langton the king takes
" And lays it in ashes."

and Langton.

He returns to Norway.

There they burnt Langton, a great thorpe; and men says that town has raised its head little since. After that king Eystein fared away from England, and in the autumn back to Norway. And men spoke of this voyage in very different ways.

[1] "Hound of the pine-wood," a periphrasis for fire.

[2] "String-rain," bowstring rain, a periphrasis for arrows.

[3] "Odin's horde," a periphrasis for wolves.

B.—EXTRACTS FROM THE NJAL'S SAGA.

To Ch. 13. Earl Sigurd and Brian's Battle.

Njal's sons go abroad.

84. Now it must be told how Njal's sons, Grim and Helgi, left Iceland the same summer that Thrain and his fellows went abroad; and were aboard ship with Olaf Kettle's son of Elda, and Bard. They got so strong a wind from the north that then they were driven south into the main; and so thick a mist drove over them that they could not tell whither they were going, and they were out a long while. Then they came to where was a great ground-sea, and thought they must be near land. Njal's sons asked if Bard could tell at all to what lands they were likely to be nearest. "Many lands "there are," said he, "after the set of wind that we "have had, the Orkneys, or Scotland, or Ireland." Two nights after they saw land on both boards, and a great surf running up in the firth. They cast anchor outside the breakers. Then the wind began to fall; and next morning it was calm. Then they see thirteen ships coming out towards them. Then Bard spoke and said, "What counsel shall we take now, for these men must "be going to make an onslaught on us?" So they took counsel whether they should defend themselves or yield,

They are attacked by vikings.

but before they could make up their minds the vikings were upon them. Then each side asked the other their names, and what their leaders were called. Then the leaders of the chapmen told their names, and asked back who might lead that host. One called himself Gritgard, and the other Snowcolf, sons of Moldan of Duncansby in Scotland, kinsmen of Malcolm the Scot king. "And "now," says Gritgard, "we have laid down two choices, "one that ye go on shore, and we will take your "goods; the other is, that we fall on you and slay "every man that we can catch." "The will of the "chapmen," says Helgi, "is to defend themselves." Then "the chapmen called out, "Wretch that thou art to

"speak thus! What defence can we make? Lading is "less than life." Grim, he fell upon a plan to shout out to the vikings, and would not let them hear the bad grumbling of the chapmen. Bard and Olaf said, "Think ye not that these Icelanders will make game "of your bad manners; take rather your weapons "and guard your goods." Then they all seized their weapons, and bound themselves, one with another, never to give up so long as they had strength to fight. They defend themselves well.

85. Then the vikings shot at them and the fight began, and the chapmen guard themselves well. Snowcolf sprang at Olaf, and thrust his spear through his body, but Grim thrust at Snowcolf with his spear, and so stoutly, that he fell overboard. Then Helgi turned to meet Grim, and they drove down all the vikings, and Njal's sons were ever where there was most need. The vikings called out to the chapmen and bade them give up, but they say they would never yield. Just then some one looked seaward, and there they see ships coming from the south round the Ness, and they were not fewer than ten. They row hard and steer thitherwards. Along their sides were shield on shield, but on that ship that came first stood a man by the mast, who was clad in a silken jacket, and had a gilded helm, and his hair was both fair and thick; that man had a spear inlaid with gold in his hand. He asked "who have here "such an uneven game?" Helgi tells his name, and said that against them are Gritgard and Snowcolf. "But "who are your captains?" he asks. Helgi answered, "Bard the black, who lives, but the other who is dead "and gone, was called Olaf." "Are ye two men from "Iceland?" says he. "Sure enough we are," Helgi answers. He asked whose sons they were. They told him, then he knew them and said, "Well known names "have ye all, father and sons both." "Who art thou?" says Helgi. "My name is Kari, and I am Solmund's "son." "Whence comest thou?" says Helgi. "From "the Southern isles." "Then thou art welcome," says Helgi, "if thou wilt give us a little help." "I'll give During a lull in the fight Kari comes up.

Kari helps them and they conquer the vikings.

ye all the help ye need," says Kari; "but what do ye ask?" "To fall on them," says Helgi. Kari says that so it shall be. So they pulled up to them, and then the battle began the second time; but when they had fought a while, Kari springs up on Snowcolf's ship; he turns to meet him and smites at him with his sword. Kari leaps nimbly backwards over a beam that lay a-thwart the ship. Snowcolf smote the beam so that both edges of the sword were hidden. Kari smites at him, and the sword fell on his shoulder, and the stroke was so mighty that he cleft in twain shoulder, arm, and all, and Snowcolf got his death there and then. Gritgard hurled a spear at Kari. Kari saw it and sprang up aloft, and the spear missed him. Just then Helgi and Grim had come up both to meet Kari, and Helgi springs on Gritgard and thrusts his spear through him, and that was his death-blow; after that they went round all the ships on both boards. Then men begged for peace. So they gave them all peace, but took all their goods. After that they ran all the ships out under the islands.

Kari takes them to earl Sigurd in Hrossey.

86. Sigurd was the name of an earl who ruled over the Orkneys; he was the son of Hlodver, the son of Thorfinn the scull-splitter, the son of Turf-Einar, the son of Rognvald, earl of Mœren, the son of Eystein the noisy. Kari was one of earl Sigurd's body-guard, and had taken scatts in the Southern isles from earl Gilli. Now Kari asks them to go to Hrossey, and said the earl would take to them well. They agreed to that, and went with Kari and came to Hrossey. Kari led them to see the earl, and said what men they were. "How came "they," says the earl, "to fall upon thee?" "I found "them," says Kari, "in Scotland's firths, and they were "fighting with the sons of earl Moldan, and held their "own so well that they threw themselves about between "the bulwarks, from side to side, and were always there "where the trial was greatest, and now I ask you to "give them quarters among your body-guard." "It "shall be as thou choosest," says the earl, "thou hast "already taken so much for them on thy hands."

Then they were there with the earl that winter, and were worthily treated. Helgi was silent as the winter wore on. The earl could not tell what was at the bottom of that, and asked why he was silent, and what was on his mind. "Thinkest thou it not good to be here?" "Good, methinks, it is here," he says. "Then what art "thou thinking about?" says the earl. "Hast thou "any realm to guard in Scotland?" says Helgi. "So "we think," says the earl, "but what of that?" "The "Scots," says Helgi, "must have taken your steward's "life, and stopped all news-bearers, that none should "cross the Pentland Firth." "Hast thou the second "sight?" said the earl. "That has been little proved," says Helgi. "Well," says the earl, "I will increase thy "honour if this be so, otherwise thou shalt smart for it." "Nay," says Kari, "Helgi is not that kind of man, and "like enough his words are sooth, for his father has the "second sight." After that the earl sent men south to Straumey (Stroma) to Arnljot, his steward there, and after that Arnljot sent them across the Pentland firth, and they spied out there and learnt that earl Hundi and earl Melsnati had taken the life of Havard in Thraswick, Sigurd's brother-in-law. Then Arnljot sends word to earl Sigurd to come south with a great host and drive those earls out of his realm. As soon as the earl heard that, he gathered together a mighty host.

Helgi shows that he has the gift of "second sight."

87. After that the earl set out with his host, and Kari went with him, and Njal's sons too. They came south to Caithness. The earl had these realms in Scotland— Ross, and Moray, Sutherland, and the Dales. There came to meet them men from those realms, and say that the earls were a short way off with a great host. Then earl Sigurd turns with his host thither, and the name of that place is Duncansnip, beyond which they met. And it came to a great battle between them. The Scots had let some of their host go free from the main battle, and these took the earl's men in flank, and many men fell there till Njal's sons turned against the foe, and fought with them and put them to flight. Then it came to a hard fight,

Kari and Njal's sons go with the earl Sigurd to war in Caithness.

Kari and Njal's sons help earl Sigurd to win the battle.

and then Njal's sons turn back to the front by the earl's standard, and fought well. Now Kari turns to meet earl Melsnati. Melsnati hurled a spear at him, but Kari caught the spear and threw it back and through the earl. Then earl Hundi fled, but they chased the fleers until they learnt that Malcolm was gathering a host together at Duncansby. Then the earl took counsel with his men, and it seemed to all the best plan to turn back, and not to fight with such a mighty land force. Then they turned back. But when the earl came to Straumey they shared the battle-spoil. After that he went north to Hrossey, and Njal's sons and Kari followed him. Then the earl made a great feast, and at that feast he gave Kari a good sword, and a spear inlaid with gold; but he gave Helgi a gold ring and a mantle, and Grim a shield and sword. After that he took Helgi and Grim into his body-guard, and thanked them for their boldness. They were with the earl that winter and the summer after, till Kari went sea-roving. They went with him, and harried far and wide that summer, and everywhere won the victory. They fought against Godred, king of Man, and conquered him; and after that they fared back, and had gotten much goods. Next winter they were with the earl. When the spring came Njal's sons asked leave to go to Norway. The earl said they should go as they pleased, and he gave them a good ship and smart men. Kari says he must come that summer to Norway with earl Hacon's scatts, and then they would meet; and so it fell out that they gave each other their word as to that. After that Njal's sons put out to sea and sailed for Norway, and made the land north near Drontheim. * * * *

They share the spoil and sail forNorway.

Kari and Njal's sons return to the Orkneys.

90 . . . . . After that Kari fared west across the sea to meet earl Sigurd, and he greeted them (Kari and Njal's sons) very well, and they were with the earl that winter. But when the spring came, Kari asked Njal's sons to go on warfare with him, but Grim said they would do so if he would fare with them afterwards out to Iceland. Kari gave his word to do that. Then

they fared with him a-sea-roving. They harried south about Anglesea and all the Southern isles. Thence they held on to Cantyre, and landed there, and fought with the landsmen, and got thence much goods, and so fared to their ships. Thence they fared south to Wales, and harried there. Then they held on for Man. There they met Godred king of Man and fought with him, and got the victory, and slew Dungal the king's son. There they took great spoil. Thence they held on north to Coll, and found earl Gilli there, and he greeted them well, and there they stayed with him a while. The earl fared with them to the Orkneys to meet earl Sigurd. But next spring earl Sigurd gave away his sister Nereid to earl Gilli. Then he fared back to the Southern isles.

They go a-sea-roving.

They return to the Orkneys and sail for Iceland.

91. That summer Kari and Njal's sons busked them for Iceland, and when they were "all-boun" they went to see the earl. The earl gave them good gifts, and they parted with great friendship. Now they put to sea and have a short passage, and they got a fine fair breeze, and made the land at Eyrar. . . . . .

Brians Battle.

154. Now Flosi rides east to Hornfirth, and most of the men in his Thring followed him, and bore his wares east, as well as all his stores and baggage which he had to take with him. After that they busked them for their voyage, and fitted out their ship. Now Flosi stayed by the ship until they were "boun." But as soon as they got a fair wind they put out to sea. They had a long passage and hard weather. Then they quite lost their reckoning. It happened once that three great seas broke over their ship, one after the other. Then Flosi said they must be near some land, and that this was a ground-swell. A great mist was on them, but the wind rose so that a great gust overtook them. They scarce knew where they were before they were dashed on shore at dead of night, and there the men were saved, but the ship was dashed all to pieces, and they could not save their goods. Then they had to look for shelter and

Flosi goes abroad.

He loses his reckoning and loses his ship on Hrossey in the Orkneys.

They go on shore,

warmth for themselves. The day after they went up on a height. The weather was then good. Flosi asked if any man knew this land, and there were two men of their crew who had fared thither before, and said they were quite sure they knew it, and, say they, "We "are come to Hrossey in the Orkneys." "Then we "might have made a better landfall," said Flosi, "for "Grim and Helgi, Njal's sons, whom I slew, were in "earl Sigurd Hlodver's son's body-guard." Then they sought for a hiding-place, and spread moss over themselves, and so lay for a while, but not for long, ere Flosi spoke, and said, "We will not lie here so any longer "until the landsmen are aware of us." Then they arose and took counsel. Then Flosi said to his men, "We will "go all of us and give ourselves up to the earl; for "there is naught else to do, and the earl has our lives "at his pleasure if he chooses to seek for them." Then they all went away thence. Flosi said that they must tell no man any tidings of their voyage or doings before he told them to the earl. Then they walked on until they met men who showed them to the homestead. Then they went in before the earl, and Flosi and all the others hailed him. The earl asked what men they might be, and Flosi told his name, and said out of what part of Iceland he was. The earl had already heard of the Burning, and so he knew the men at once. Then the earl asked Flosi, "What hast thou to tell me about "Helgi Njal's son, my henchman." "This," said Flosi, "that I hewed off his head." "Take them all," said the earl. Then that was done. Just then in came Thorstein, son of Hall of the Side. Flosi had to wife Steinvora, Thorstein's sister. Thorstein was one of earl Sigurd's body-guard. But when he saw Flosi seized and held, he went in before the earl, and offered for Flosi all the goods he had. The earl was very wrath a long time, but at last the end of it was, by the prayer of good men and true, joined to those of Thorstein, for he was well backed by friends, and many threw in their word with his, that the earl took an atonement from them, and gave Flosi and all the rest of them peace.

and come before earl Sigurd who orders them to be seized.

Flosi is atonedwith the earl and becomes his henchman.

The earl held to that custom of mighty men that Flosi took that place in his service which Helgi Njal's son had filled. So Flosi was made earl Sigurd's henchman, and he soon won his way to great love with the earl.

Kari goes abroad.

155. Those messmates Kari and Kolbein the black put out to sea from Eyrar half a month later than Flosi and his companions from Hornfirth. They got a fine fair wind, and were but a short time out. The first land they made was the Fair isle, it lies between Shetland and the Orkneys. There that man whose name was David the white took Kari into his house; he tells him all that he had heard for certain about the doings of the Burners. He was one of Kari's greatest friends, and Kari stayed with him for the winter. Then they heard tidings from the west out of the Orkneys of all that was done there. Earl Sigurd bade to his feast at Yule earl Gilli, his brother-in-law, out of the Southern Isles; he had to wife Swanlauga,[1] earl Sigurd's sister. Then too came to see earl Sigurd that king from Ireland whose name was Sigtrygg. He was a son of Olaf rattle, but his mother's name was Kormlada. She was the fairest of all women, and best gifted in everything that was not in her own power, but it was the talk of men that she did all things ill over which she had any power.[2] Brian was the name of the king who first had her to wife, but they were then parted. He was the best natured of all kings. He had his seat in Ireland at Kincora. His brother's name was Wolf the quarrelsome, the greatest champion and warrior; Brian's foster-child's name was Kerthialfad. He was the son of king Kylfi, who had many wars with king Brian, and fled away out of the land before him, and became a hermit. But when king Brian went south on a pilgrimage, then he met king Kylfi, and they were atoned. Then king Brian took his son Kerthialfad to him, and loved him more than his own sons. He was then full grown when these things happened, and was

Earl Sigurd's Yule feast.

Character and history of king Brian.

Kormlada, hisdivorced wife, and her son

King Sigtrygg plot against him.

[1] In ch. 90 she is called Nereid.

[2] That is, she had the best natural gifts, but what she did out of her own will was bad.

Names of king Brian's sons.

the boldest of all men. Duncan was the name of the first of king Brian's sons; the second was Margad; the third, Takt, whom we call Tann, he was the youngest of them; but the elder sons of king Brian were full grown, and the briskest of men. Kormlada was not the mother of king Brian's children, and so grim had she got against king Brian after their parting, that she would gladly have him dead. King Brian thrice forgave all his outlaws the same fault but if they misbehaved themselves oftener, then he let them be judged by the law; and from this one may mark what a king he must have been. Kormlada egged on her son Sigtrygg very much to kill king Brian. She now sent him to earl Sigurd to beg for help. King Sigtrygg came before Yule to the Orkneys, and there, too, came earl Gilli, as was written before. Men were so placed that king Sigtrygg sat on a high seat in the middle, but on either side of the king sat one of the earls. The men of king Sigtrygg and earl Gilli sat on the inner side away from him, but on the outer side away from earl Sigurd, sat Flosi and Thorstein, son of Hall of the Side, and the whole hall was full. Now king Sigtrygg and earl Gilli wished to hear of those tidings which had happened at the Burning, and so, also, what had befallen since. Then Gunnar Lambi's son was got to tell the tale, and a stool was set for him to sit upon.

Sigtrygg comes to earl Sigurd's feast.

Kari hews off Gunnar's head as he tells the story of the Burning before earl Sigurd.

156. Just at that very time Kari and Kolbein and David the white came to Hrossey unawares to all men. They went straightway up on land, but a few men watched the ship. Kari and his fellows went straight to the earl's homestead, and came to the hall about drinking time. It so happened that just then Gunnar was telling the story of the Burning, but they were listening to him meanwhile outside. This was on Yule-day itself. Now king Sigtrygg asked, "How did "Skarphedinn bear the burning?" "Well at first for "a long time," said Gunnar, "but still the end of it "was that he wept." And he went on giving an unfair

leaning through all the story, but every now and then he lied outright. Kari could not stand this. Then he ran in with his sword drawn, and sang this song:— Kari's verses.

" Men of might in battle eager,
" Boast of burning Njal's abode,
" Have the princes heard how sturdy
" Seahorse racers sought revenge?
" Hath not since, on foemen holding
" High the shield's broad orb aloft,
" All that wrong been fully wroken?
" Raw flesh ravens got to tear."

So he ran in up the hall, and smote Gunnar Lambi's son on the neck with such a sharp blow, that his head spun off on to the board before the king and the earls, and the board was all one gore of blood, and the earl's clothing too. Earl Sigurd knew the man that had done the deed, and called out, " Seize Kari and kill him." Kari had been one of earl Sigurd's body-guard, and he was of all men most beloved by his friends; and no man stood up a whit more for the earl's speech. " Many would say, Lord," said Kari, " that I have done " this deed on your behalf, to avenge your henchman." Then Flosi said, " Kari hath not done this without a " cause; he is in no atonement with us, and he only did " what he had a right to do." So Kari walked away, and there was no hue and cry after him. Kari fared to his ship, and his fellows with him. The weather was then good, and they sailed at once south to Caithness, and went on shore at Thraswick to the house of a worthy man whose name was Skeggi, and with him they stayed a very long while. Those behind in the Orkneys cleansed the board, and bore out the dead man. The earl was told that they had set sail south for Scotland. King Sigtrygg said, " This was a mighty " bold fellow, who dealt his stroke so stoutly, and never " thought twice about it!" Then earl Sigurd answered, " There is no man like Kari for dash and daring." Now Flosi undertook to tell the story of the Burning

Earl Sigurd orders him to be killed, but no one will lay hands on him.

Kari goes away to Caithness

King Sigtrygg persuades earl Sigurd to war against king Brian for the sake of his mother's hand.

and he was fair to all; and therefore what he said was believed. Then king Sigtrygg stirred in his business with earl Sigurd, and egged him on to go to the war with him against king Brian. The earl was long steadfast, but the end of it was that he said it might come about. He said he must have his mother's hand for his help, and be king in Ireland, if they slew Brian. But all his men besought earl Sigurd not to go into the war, but it was all no good. So they parted on the understanding that earl Sigurd gave his word to go; but king Sigtrygg promised him his mother and the kingdom. It was so settled that earl Sigurd was to come with all his host to Dublin by Palm Sunday. Then king Sigtrygg fared south to Ireland, and told his mother Kormlada that the earl had undertaken to come, and also what he had pledged himself to grant him. She shewed herself well pleased at that, but said they must gather greater force still. Sigtrygg asked whence this was to be looked for? She said there were two vikings lying off the west of Man; and they had thirty ships, and "they are men of such hardihood that nothing "can withstand them. The one's name is Ospak, and "the other's Brodir. Thou shalt fare to find them, and "spare nothing to get them into thy quarrel, whatever "price they ask." Now king Sigtrygg fares and seeks the vikings, and found them lying outside off Man; king Sigtrygg brings forward his errand at once, but Brodir shrank from helping him until he, king Sigtrygg, promised him the kingdom and his mother, and they were to keep this such a secret that earl Sigurd should know nothing about it; Brodir too was to come to Dublin on Palm Sunday. King Sigtrygg fared home to his mother, and told her how things stood. After that those brothers, Ospak and Brodir, talked together, and then Brodir told Ospak all that he and Sigtrygg had spoken of, and bade him fare to battle with him against king Brian, and said he set much store on his going. Ospak said he would not fight against so good a king. Then they were both wrath, and sundered

He also goes to two vikings and promises one of them her hand.

Ospak and Brodir the two vikings quarrel.

their band at once. Ospak had ten ships and Brodir twenty. Ospak was a heathen, and the wisest of all men. He laid his ships inside in a sound, but Brodir lay outside him. Brodir had been a Christian man and a mass-deacon by consecration, but he had thrown off his faith and become God's dastard, and now worshipped heathen fiends, and he was of all men most skilled in sorcery. He had that coat of mail on which no steel would bite. He was both tall and strong, and had such long locks that he tucked them under his belt. His hair was black. Their character.

157. It so happened one night that a great din passed over Brodir and his men, so that they all woke, and sprang up and put on their clothes. Along with that came a shower of boiling blood. Then they covered themselves with their shields, but for all that many were scalded. This wonder lasted all till day, and a man had died on board every ship. Then they slept during the day. The second night there was again a din, and again they all sprang up. Then swords leapt out of their sheaths, and axes and spears flew about in the air and fought. The weapons pressed them so hard that they had to shield themselves, but still many were wounded, and again a man died out of every ship. This wonder lasted all till day. Then they slept again the day after. The third night there was a din of the same kind. Then ravens flew at them, and it seemed to them as though their beaks and claws were of iron. The ravens pressed them so hard that they had to keep them off with their swords, and covered themselves with their shields. This went on again till day, and then another man had died in every ship. Then they went to sleep first of all, but when Brodir woke up, he drew his breath painfully, and bade them put off the boat. "For," he said, "I will go to see Ospak." Then he got into the boat and some men with him. But when he found Ospak he told him of the wonders which had befallen them, and bade him say what he thought they boded. Ospak would not tell him before Signs and portents. Brodir consults Ospak as to their meaning.

he pledged him peace, and Brodir promised him peace but Ospak still shrank from telling him till night fell.[1] Then Ospak spoke and said—"When blood rained on "you, therefore shall ye shed many men's blood, both "of your own and others. But when ye heard a great "din, then ye must have been shewn the crack of doom, "and ye shall all die speedily. But when weapons "fought against you, that must forbode a battle; but "when ravens pressed you, that marks the devils which "ye put faith in, and who will drag you all down to "the pains of hell." Then Brodir was so wroth that he could answer never a word. But he went at once to his men, and made them lay his ships in a line across the sound, and moor them by bearing cables on shore, and meant to slay them all next morning. Ospak saw all their plan. Then he vowed to take the true faith and to go to king Brian, and follow him till his death-day. Then he took that counsel to lay his ships in a line, and punt them along the shore with poles, and cut the cables of Brodir's ships. Then the ships of Brodir's men began to fall aboard of one another. But they were all fast asleep; and then Ospak and his men got out of the firth, and so west to Ireland, and came to Kincora. Then Ospak told king Brian all that he had learnt, and took baptism, and gave himself over into the king's hand. After that king Brian made them gather force over all his realm, and the whole host was to come to Dublin in the week before Palm Sunday.

He says they mean his death and eternal punishment.

Ospak escapes from Brodir by a stratagem and joins king Brian.

158. Earl Sigurd Hlodver's son busked him from the Orkneys, and Flosi offered to go with him. The earl would not have that, since he had his pilgrimage to fulfil. Flosi offered fifteen men of his band to go on the voyage, and the earl accepted them, but Flosi fared with earl Gilli to the southern isles. Thorstein, the son of Hall of the Side, went along with earl Sigurd and Hrafn the red, and Erling of Straumey. He would not that Hareck should go, but said he would be sure to

Earl Sigurd sets out for Ireland.

[1] Cd. 132 adds, "for Brodir never slew a man by night."

tell him first the tidings of his voyage. The earl came with all his host on Palm Sunday to Dublin, and there too was come Brodir with all his host. Brodir tried by sorcery how the fight would go. But the answer ran thus, that if the fight were on Good Friday king Brian would fall but win the day; but if they fought before, they would all fall who were against him. Then Brodir said that they must not fight before the Friday. Then on the fifth day of the week a man rode up to Kormlada and her company on an apple-grey horse, and in his hand he held a halberd; he talked long with them. King Brian came with all his host to the burg, and on the Friday the host fared out of the burg, and both armies were drawn up in array. Brodir was on one wing of the battle, but king Sigtrygg on the other. Earl Sigurd was in the mid-battle. Now it must be told of king Brian that he would not fight on the fast-day, and so a shieldburg[1] was thrown round him, and his host was drawn up in array in front of it. Wolf the quarrelsome was on that wing of the battle against which Brodir stood. But on the other wing, where Sigtrygg stood against them, were Ospak and his sons. But in mid-battle was Kerthialfad, and before him the banners were borne. Now the wings fall on one another, and there was a very hard fight. Brodir went through the host of the foe, and felled all the foremost that stood there, but no steel would bite on him. Wolf the quarrelsome turned then to meet him, and thrust at him twice so hard that Brodir fell before him at each thrust, and was well-nigh not getting on his feet again. But as soon as ever he found his feet, he fled away into the wood at once. Earl Sigurd had a hard battle against Kerthialfad, and Kerthialfad came on so fast that he laid low all who were in the front rank, and he broke the array of earl Sigurd right up to his banner, and slew the banner-bearer. Then he got another man to bear the banner, and there was again a hard fight. Kerthialfad smote this

The two hosts come on Palm Sunday to Dublin.

They fight on Good Friday.

Brian's Battle.

King Sigtrygg and earl Sigurd are defeated and the earl is slain.

[1] "Shieldburg," that is, a ring of men holding their shields locked together.

Earl Sigurd's raven-banner.

man too his death blow at once, and so on one after the other all who stood near him. Then earl Sigurd called on Thorstein, the son of Hall of the Side, to bear the banner, and Thorstein was just about to lift the banner, but then Amundi the white said, "Don't bear "the banner! for all they who bear it get their death." "Hrafn the red!" called out earl Sigurd, "Bear thou "the banner." "Bear thine own devil thyself," answered Hrafn. Then the earl said "'Tis fittest that the beggar "should bear the bag;" and with that he took the banner from the staff and put it under his cloak. A little after Amundi the white was slain, and then the earl was pierced through with a spear. Ospak had gone through all the battle on his wing, he had been sore wounded, and lost both his sons ere king Sigtrygg fled before him. Then flight broke out throughout all the host. Thorstein Hall of the Side's son stood still while all the others fled, and tied his shoestring. Then Kerthialfad asked why he ran not as the others. "Because," said Thorstein, "I can't get home to-night, since I am at "home out in Iceland." Kerthialfad gave him peace. Hrafn the red was chased out into a certain river; he thought he saw there the pains of hell down below him and he thought the devils wanted to drag him to them. Then Hrafn said, "Thy dog,[1] Apostle Peter! hath run "twice to Rome, and he would run a third time if thou "gavest him leave." Then the devils let him loose, and Hrafn got across the river. Now Brodir saw that king Brian's men were chasing the fleers, and that there were few men by the shieldburg. Then he rushed out of the wood, and broke through the shieldburg, and hewed at the king. The lad Takt threw his arm in the way, and the stroke took it off and the king's head too, but the king's blood came on the lad's stump, and the stump was healed by it on the spot. Then Brodir called out with a loud voice, "Now man can tell man that Brodir felled

Thorstein gets peace.

Brodir who had fled to the wood rushes out and kills king Brian.

[1] "Thy dog," etc. Meaning that he would go a third time on a pilgrimage to Rome if St. Peter helped him out of this strait.

Brian." Then men ran after those who were chasing the fleers, and they were told that king Brian had fallen, and then they turned back straightway, both Wolf the quarrelsome and Kerthialfad. Then they threw a ring round Brodir and his men, and threw branches of trees upon them, and so Brodir was taken alive. Wolf the quarrelsome cut open his belly, and led him round and round the trunk of a tree, and so wound all his entrails out of him, and he did not die before they were all drawn out of him. Brodir's men were slain to a man. After that they took king Brian's body and laid it out. The king's head had grown to the trunk. Fifteen men of the Burners fell in Brian's battle, and there too fell Halldor the son of Gudmund the powerful, and Erling of Straumey. On Good Friday that event happened in Caithness that a man whose name was Daurrud went out. He saw folk riding twelve together to a bower, and there they were all lost to his sight. He went to the bower. He looked in through a window slit that was in it and saw that there were women inside, and they had set up a loom. Men's heads were the weights, but men's entrail's were the warp and weft. A sword served for a shuttle, and the reels were arrows.

Brodir is tortured and slain.

Portents in Caithness.

They sang these songs, but he learnt them by heart—

The "Woof of War," the Valkyries' song.

THE WOOF OF WAR.

" See ! warp is stretched
" For warriors' fall,
" Lo ! weft in loom
" 'Tis wet with blood;
" Now fight foreboding,
" 'Neath friends' swift fingers,
" Our gray woof waxeth
" With war's alarms,
" Our warp bloodred,
" Our weft corseblue.

" This woof is y-woven
" With entrails of men,
" This warp is hardweighted

The Woof of War.

" With heads of the slain,
" Spears blood-besprinkled
" For spindles we use,
" Our loom ironbound,
" And arrows our reels;
" With swords for our shuttles
" This war-woof we work;
" So weave we, weird sisters,
" Our warwinning woof.

" Now War-winner walketh
" To weave in her turn,
" Now Swordswinger steppeth,
" Now Swiftstroke, now Storm;
" When they speed the shuttle
" How spear-heads shall flash!
" Shields crash, and helm-gnawer[1]
" On harness bite hard!

" Wind we wind swiftly
" Our warwinning woof,
" Woof erst for king youthful
" Foredoomed as his own.
" Forth now we will ride,
" Then through the ranks rushing,
" Be busy where friends
" Blows blithe give and take.

" Wind we, wind swiftly
" Our warwinning woof,
" After that let us steadfastly
" Stand by the brave king;
" Then men shall mark mournful
" Their shields red with gore,
" How Swordstroke and Spearthrust
" Stood stout by the prince.

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[1] " Helm-gnawer," the sword that bites helmets.

The Woof of War.

" Wind we, wind swiftly
" Our warwinning woof;
" When sword-bearing rovers
" To banners rush on,
" Mind, maidens, we spare not
" One life in the fray!
" We corse-choosing sisters
" Have charge of the slain.

" Now new-coming nations
" That island shall rule,
" Who on outlying headlands
" Abode ere the fight;
" I say that king mighty
" To death now is done,
" Now low before spear-point
" That earl bows his head.

" Soon over all Ersemen
" Sharp sorrow shall fall,
" That woe to those warriors
" Shall wane nevermore.
" Our woof now is woven,
" Now battle-field waste,
" Oër land and oër water
" War tidings shall leap.

" Now surely 'tis gruesome
" To gaze all around,
" When blood-red through heaven
" Drives cloudrack oër head;
" Air soon shall be deep hued
" With dying men's blood
" When this our spaedom
" Comes speedy to pass.

" So cheerily chant we
" Charms for the young king,
" Come maidens lift loudly
" His warwinning lay;

The Woof of War.

" Let him who now listens
" Learn well with his ears,
" And gladden brave swordsmen
" With bursts of war's song."

" Now mount we our horses,
" Now bare we our brands,
" Now haste we hard, maidens,
" Hence far, far, away."

Further signs and portents.

Then they plucked down the woof and tore it asunder, and each kept what she had hold of. Now Daurrud goes away from the slit, and home ; but they got on their steeds and rode six to the south, and the other six to the north. A like event befell Brand Gneisti's son in the Faroe isles. At Swinefell, in Iceland, blood came on the priest's stole on Good Friday, so that he had to put it off. At Thvattwater the priest thought he saw on Good Friday a deep of the sea hard by the altar, and there he saw many awful sights, and it was long ere he could sing the hours. This event happened in the Orkneys, that Hareck thought he saw earl Sigurd, and some men with him. Then Hareck took his horse and rode to meet the earl. Men saw that they met and rode under a brae, but they were never seen again, and not a scrap was ever found of Hareck. Earl Gilli in the Southern isles dreamed that a man came to him and said his name was Hostfinn, and told him he was come from Ireland. The earl thought he asked him for tidings thence, and then he sang this song.

" I have been where warriors wrestled,
" High in Erin sang the sword,
" Ross to boss met many bucklers,
" Steel rung sharp on rattling helm ;
" I can tell of all their struggle;
" Sigurd fell in flight of spears;
" Brian fell, but kept his kingdom
" Ere he lost one drop of blood."

Those two, Flosi and the earl, talked much of this dream. A week after, Hrafn the red came thither, and told them all the tidings of Brian's battle, the fall of the king, and of earl Sigurd, and Brodir, and all the vikings. "What," said Flosi, "hast thou to tell me of my men?" "They all fell there," says Hrafn, "but thy "brother-in-law Thorstein took peace from Kerthialfad, "and is now with him." Flosi says to the earl that he would now go away, "for we have our pilgrimage south "to fulfil." The earl bade him go as he wished, and gave him a ship and all else that he needed, and much silver. Then they sailed to Wales, and stayed there a while. Flosi starts on his pilgrimage.

159. Kari, Solmund's son, told master Skeggi that he wished he would get him a ship. So master Skeggi gave Kari a long-ship, fully trimmed and manned, and on board it went Kari, and David the white, and Kolbein the black. Now Kari and his fellows sailed south off Scotland's firths, and there they found men from the Southern isles. They told Kari the tidings from Ireland, and also that Flosi was gone to Wales, and his men with him. But when Kari heard that he told his messmates that he would hold on south to Wales, to fall in with Flosi and his band. He bade them then to part from his company, if they liked it better, and said that he would not wish to beguile any man into mischief, because he thought he had not yet had revenge enough on them for his wrongs. All chose to go with him. Then he sails south to Wales, and there they lay in hiding in a creek out of the way. That morning Kol Thorstein's son went into the town to buy silver. He of all the burners had used the bitterest words. Kol had talked much with a mighty dame, and he had so knocked the nail on the head, that it was all but fixed that he was to have her, and settle down there. That same morning Kari went also into the town. He came up when Kol was telling the silver. Kari knew him, and ran at him with drawn sword and smote him on the neck. But he still went on telling the silver, and his head counted Kari sets out to seek for him.

Kari comes to Wales and slays Kol Thorstein's son.

"ten" just as it spun off the body. Kari said, "Go "and tell this to Flosi, that Kari Solmund's son hath "slain Kol Thorstein's son. I give notice of this slay- "ing as done by my hand." Then Kari went to his ship, and told his shipmates of the manslaughter. Then they sailed north to Beruwick, and laid up their ship, and fared up into Whitherne in Scotland, and were with earl Malcolm that year. But when Flosi heard of Kol's slaying, he laid out his body, and bestowed much money on his burial. Flosi never uttered any wrathful words against Kari. Thence Flosi fared south across the sea and began his pilgrimage, and went on south, and did not stop till he came to Rome. There he got so great honour that he took absolution from the Pope himself, and for that he gave a great sum of money. Then he fared back again by the east road, and stayed long in towns, and went in before mighty men, and had from them great honour. He was in Norway the winter after, and took a ship from earl Eric to sail out, and he gave him much meal, and many other men behaved handsomely to him. Now he sailed out to Iceland, and ran into Hornfirth, and thence fared home to Swinefell. He had then fulfilled all the terms of his atonement, both in fines and foreign travel.

Kari returns to Scotland.

Flosi fulfils his vow and goes to Rome.

Flosi returns to Iceland.

160. Now it is to be told of Kari that the summer after he went down to his ship and sailed south across the sea, and began his pilgrimage in Normandy. And went south and got absolution and fared back by the western way, and took his ship again in Normandy, and sailed in her north across the sea to Dover in England. Thence he sailed west, round Wales, and so north, off Scotland's firths, and did not stay his course till he came to Thraswick in Caithness, to master Skeggi's house. Then he gave over the ship of burden to Kolbein and David. Kolbein sailed in that ship to Norway, but David stayed behind in the Fair isle. Kari was that winter in Caithness. In this winter his housewife died out in Iceland. The next summer Kari busked him for Iceland. Skeggi gave him a ship of burden, and there

Kari goes south and gets absolution.

Kari returns to Iceland,

were eighteen of them on board her. They were rather late "boun," but still they put to sea, and had a long passage, but at last they made Ingolf's-head. There their ship was dashed all to pieces, but the men's lives were saved. Then, too, a snow-storm came on them. Now they ask Kari what counsel shall be taken; but he said their best plan was to go to Swinefell and put Flosi's manhood to the proof. Now they went right up to Swinefell in the storm. Flosi was in the sitting-room. He knew Kari as soon as ever he came into the room, and sprang up to meet him, and kissed him, and sat him down in the high-seat by his side. Flosi asked Kari to be there that winter, and Kari took his offer. Then they were atoned with a full atonement. Then Flosi gave away his brother's daughter Hildigunna, whom Hauskuld the priest of Whiteness had had to wife to Kari. They dwelt first at Broadwater. Men say that the end of Flosi's life was, that he fared abroad, when he had grown old, to seek for timber to build him a hall; and he was in Norway that winter; but the next summer he was late "boun." Men told him that his ship was not seaworthy. Flosi said she was good enough for an old and "fey" man, and bore his goods on shipboard and put out to sea. But of that ship no tidings were ever heard. These were the children of Kari Solmud's son and Helga Njal's daughter—Thorgerda and Ragneida, Valgerda, and Thord who was burnt in Njal's house. But the children of Hildigunna and Kari were these, Starkad, and Thord, and Flosi. The son of Burning-Flosi was Kolbein, who has been the most famous man of any of that stock. And here we end the story of Burnt Njal.

is shipwrecked, and takes shelter with Flosi.

Flosi and Kari are reconciled.

Flosi lost at sea.

Descendants of Kari and Flosi.

C.—BRIAN'S BATTLE.

(From the Saga of Thorstein Hall of the Side's Son.)

Thorstein fares to the Orkneys, and goes a-sea-roving with his kinsman earl Sigurd.

Thorstein fared abroad and came to the Orkneys. Earl Sigurd Hlödver's son then ruled over the isles. He gave Thorstein a hearty welcome and asked him to stay with him, and he was with the earl that winter in much esteem. And when the spring came, then the earl asked Thorstein whether he would fare with him a sea-roving, or whether he would stay behind. Thorstein chose to fare, and was bowman on the earl's ship, and was the ablest man in the ship, as though he had been wont to that work. Thorstein was a man of good counsel and wise and bold; and the earl asked him to stay long with him after he learned the stock whence he sprang, and knew the kinship that was between them—for Thorey Özur's daughter was the mother of Hall of the Side, but Özur was the son of Hrollaug, the son of Rögnvald of Mæren. Earl Turf Einar was the son of earl Rögnvald of Mæren, and the father of earl Thorfinn skullsplitter, the father of earl Hlödver, the father of earl Sigurd.—But earl Sigurd harried far and wide during the summer about Scotland, and no man challenged Thorstein's dash and daring. Both these things pleaded Thorstein's cause, his kindred and his sturdiness. The earl slew many savage folk, but some fled away to the woods; and the earl fared far and wide about the Western lands, and burnt. Late in the autumn he fared home to the Orkneys, and then had rest for three months, and then he gave his friends good gifts. Then the earl spake to Thorstein and said, "Good following "hast thou shown me and like a man, and now take of "me this axe inlaid with gold; it beseems thee to bear "it." Thorstein thanks the earl, for that was the greatest treasure. That autumn came Burning-Flosi to

Earl Sigurd harries far and wide, and on his return gives Thorstein an axe inlaid with gold.

the Orkneys and his men. And those dealings took place between them and earl Sigurd, as is said in Njals Saga.

Burning-Flosi comes to the Orkneys.

2. This winter earl Sigurd busked him for Ireland. And then he fought with king Brian, and that battle has been the most famous across the western sea, both for the host of men (who fought) and the great tidings that happened there. And when the earl busked him from home he asked Thorstein whether he would fare too. Thorstein said that nothing else beseemed him than to fare and follow him in danger, "when we think "it good to lead a quiet life of ease with you in peace." The earl thanked him for his words. After that they fared to Ireland and fought with king Brian, and there many tidings happened at the same time. As is said in his Saga. There fell three banner-bearers of earl Sigurd; and then the earl bade Thorstein to bear the banner. Then Thorstein said, "Bear thine own crow[1] "thyself, earl." Then a man[2] spoke and said: "Thou "doest right, Thorstein, for from it I have lost three of "my sons." The earl took the banner from the staff and hid it among his clothing and then fought on most daringly. And a little after men heard it said up aloft: "If earl Sigurd will have victory, then let him make "for Dumaz-hill with his men." That[3] . . . . ever followed the earl, and so it was then. There fell the earl in that onslaught, and much folk with him. And just then Brodir slew king Brian; but Ospak his brother took him and tore out his entrails, and led him round and round the trunk of a tree, and so he died. Then great tidings happened afterwards in loss of life. Thorstein and some few of them together took their stand by the woodside. Then a man said, "Why fleest thou "not, Thorstein?" He answers, "Because I cannot

Earl Sigurd fares to Ireland together with Thorstein, and falls in Brian's battle.

Death of king Brian.

[1] "Crow," in allusion to the raven which was worked on the banner. Comp. Orkn. S. Ch. 12. Njála reads "thy devil."

[2] "Amundi the white" according to Njála.

[3] Here there is a blank space for a word or two which has been left in the MS.

Thorstein's life is spared, and he returns to Iceland.

" reach home this evening, even though I do fly." Peace was given to Thorstein. And he fared back to the Orkneys and thence to Norway . . . . But when he had been three winters abroad and had grown very famous then he fared out hither (to Iceland). Thorstein was then twenty when he was in Brian's battle.

D.—HELGI AND WOLF.

(From the Flatey Book.)

Earl Sigurd Hlodver's son ruled over the Orkneys, he was a great chief. There was a man named Wolf the bad, he abode in Sanday in the Orkneys, he was a great warrior and followed (did not belie) his name. There was a man named Harold who abode in North Ronaldshay; the name of his son was Helgi, he was a man of promise and fair of face. He spoke to his father and said, "I would thou wouldst find me in "ships, for I wish to harry in Scotland's firths, and "see what comes of it." He answers, "That I may "well do, for that is young men's wont." After that Helgi harried, and behaves well in his warfare; though he were a heathen, yet then they (the heathen) were not all alike. And when Helgi was away out of the Orkneys, then Wolf the bad goes to North Ronaldsay and meets Harold, and said, "I would like to buy thy lands, "they fall much to my mind; but I will give thee ready "money for them." Harold says he would not sell him his estates, and says he does not know what he should do if he had not his board and lodging there. Wolf says that he thinks the next time he comes, that he (Harold) will have to give up what was asked. After that they parted. A few nights afterwards, came Wolf unawares, and took Harold prisoner, and says he thinks that things had taken such a turn now that he will lose both lands and life. And after that Wolf lets him be slain. This deed was ill-spoken of, and when earl Sigurd heard of it, he blamed the deed. Wolf came to see the earl, and told him of it. The earl says that he likes ill such undertakings, "and my will is "that thou payest a fitting atonement to his kinsfolk." Wolf said that he should have his way in that; but said, too, that much mischief had been wrought against him by Harold. Now the suit was not very speedily

Wolf the bad quarrels with Harold of North Ronaldsay and kills him while Helgi Harold's son is out searoving.

taken up, as Helgi was not in the isles. There was a man named Bard the fair, a kinsman of Wolf the bad, he was a man of many friends and well-behaved, and yet he was often with Wolf. Once on a time Bard said to Wolf, "We two shall never be of one mind; "thou rushest into ill deeds, and that is far from my "turn of mind, and so I will change my abode and go "away." Wolf answers, "That is only half-wise, so "long as the quarrel is not settled, and Helgi Harold's "son, is on a roving cruize." He said he would go for all that, and fits him out a ship from South Ronaldsay. And just as he is "boun" then Helgi sailed up to the isles, and had heard by that time of his father's slaying. And now he calls on his men that they should slay Bard whom he said was the nearest of kin of any man to Wolf. Bard busked him to fight but said he had never done him any harm; but said he would not sunder himself from Wolf's kinship. After that they fight, and Bard falls there, for Helgi had a great force. And when Wolf hears this he gathers force to him. But when earl Sigurd learned that he summons Helgi to come to him. And when they meet the earl said, "Thou hast done an ill deed in return for thy wrongs, "and hast not looked towards thine own honour with "our help; now this quarrel had been already settled, "and thine honour cared for." Helgi answers, "Then "everything shall still be placed in your power; but I "knew nothing at all about that settlement." The earl said, "It must be my will to bring about settle-"ments between my men here in the isles." And after that Helgi goes his way. Wolf sends men against him at once with two ships, but they did not meet; and Helgi had got home before to his own abode and heard that and says he thinks that he should have no rest in the isles. And sold his lands and busked him to go away, and said that it were well that he and Wolf should meet if he would not abide by the earl's doom, as he plainly showed that he would not. After that he turns to Wolf's abode, and he was not at home.

Helgi Harold's son slays Bard Wolf's kinsman in revenge.

Earl Sigurd tries to make up the quarrel, but Wolf will not abide by his award and attacks Helgi, who flees away with Wolf's daughter to a small farmer named Thorfinn.

Helgi robs there, and takes away his daughter whose name was Helga, and said such a prize would just suit him for an atonement for his father. She bade him not do that, "for my father will follow you stoutly "up." He said he would run the risk of that. After that he fared south among the isles. But when Wolf learns that he fares after him with many ships, and said he had often avenged less insults. But when they met, then they fell to fighting, and Helgi was weaker in force and his ships were cleared, but he made a stout defence, and was wounded. But when night fell, there arose a storm of wind, and he takes this device that he leaps overboard with Wolf's daughter; and swam with her from the ships; and so comes to land in the darkness of night, and makes for the wood; and there he saw a fire, and one man by it. Helgi asks who he may be. He said he was a husbandman, "but I know all about thee, and thou behavedst well "on thy cruizes towards us small farmers." Helgi told him the whole truth about his affairs. This husbandman's name was Thorfinn, and he found Helgi in all that he needed during that winter, and was very kind to both of them. Helgi said he should wish to hold his wedding with Helga in his house. Thorfinn said that was quite free to him but not worthy enough. But still it came about. And so the winter slips away. Then Helgi said he wished to lease land from the husbandman, and said he thought that one or other thing would happen, either that Wolf would die soon, or that he would find him out. Now he leases the land and builds him a house. After that he hears that Wolf was dead. Helgi had a son by his wife Helga, and his name was Bard, he was very dutiful and good; a handsome man and a proper, both in mind and body. And when two winters had gone by, Helgi and his wife and son fare back to the Orkneys, and take their estates, both those which Wolf had owned, and those which belonged to Helgi after his father Harold, and now there was no lack of money.

Thorfinn shelters them until Wolf is dead.

Wolf dies and Helgi and his wife and their son Bard return to their estates in the Orkneys.

And when his son, Bard, was twelve winters old, he wished to go away, and said he wanted to gather together goods for himself. Helgi said he was still too young to travel. Bard said, "We two are unlike in temper, father mine," said he, "and I will fare to those peoples, of whom "I have been told that they believe in the God of "Heaven himself." Helgi said he was unlike Wolf, his mother's father.

Bard goes to serve a husbandman in a foreign land, and gives all his wages to a beggar in St. Peter's name.

After that he fared away and comes to the house of a husbandman very far off, and said he wished to work for him. The farmer said he would like that well; he looked after the cattle and worked all alone; but the farmer was very rich. The lad was lightly clad, but still he did his business well; and the farmer said he would give him a cow for his wages, and Bard said he was willing to take it, and now he drives the cow into the wood one day, and in the wood he met a beggarman. This man begged Bard to give him the cow for Peter's thanks. Bard answers, "Thou knowest well how to beg, and this Peter ought to "be my friend, but for all that I will give him the cow." Bard came again to the husbandman and worked for him, and it fared still better during that year with the husbandman's cattle, and then he gave him yet another cow. Now it fared the same way as before, the beggarman came with the same story and begged for the cow for Peter's sake, but Bard gave him the cow. The husbandman asked what had become of the kine. Bard said that those had them who needed them. With this husbandman Bard stayed the third winter, and still tended his cattle, and then there were near two heads for every one that he had before, and he made over a third cow to Bard. That self-same day came the beggarman to him in the wood, and said he would still wish to beg for this cow in Peter's name. He granted him that at once and gave him the cow. Then this man said to Bard,

St. Peter blesses him

"Now will I pass my hands over thee." And so it was, and it seemed to him as though numbness passed out of every one of his bones. After that he said, "Thou shalt "be a man of luck," and then he set a book on his

shoulders, and then Bard saw far and wide over many lands. Then the beggarman said, "Thinkest thou that "thou art now repaid for the kine?" "Of a surety (I "think) so," said Bard. After that he saw over all Ireland. Then the newly come man said, "Thinkest "thou thyself then repaid for the kine if thou hast power "given thee as wide as thou now seest." Bard said so it would be. "Here then," said he, "is now come Peter "the Apostle;" and he gave him then plenary powers, "and so will I repay thee for the kine, that we shall "never be parted." After that Bard sought the husbandman, and told him this event. The husbandman hardly knew him, he was so bright and lucky-looking, and bade him take of his goods whatsoever he would. He bade the husbandman to hew him out a cell in a rock. And so it was done. Then he was baptized; but he sat him afterwards in the same rock, and came to very great glory. After some years had passed he became a bishop in Ireland, and the greatest chief. There came to him his father and his mother, his brothers and sisters, and he enriched them all with many good things. All-ruling God rewarded him as he rewards all for his lowly-mindedness. As he himself bears witness that whosoever abaseth himself in the eyes of his maker him shall he himself exalt. The father and mother of Bard fared back to the Orkneys, and regained all their estates, and dwelt there till old age. And here ends this story.

and he becomes a hermit and afterwards a bishop in Ireland.

E.—THE STORY OF HEMING.

Harold Sigurd's son, Hardrada, king of Norway.

Harold the son of Sigurd Swine then ruled over Norway when this Saga was made; he was king over Norway twenty winters; he had two winters on to forty when he became king. He had to wife Ellisif, daughter of Jaroslaf, king in Novgorod, he left her there behind him when he fared to Norway, and said he would send and fetch her ere fifteen winters were spent; he left behind with her a skin flayed from the biggest he-goat full of gold and pure silver, and tells her she was to have that for her own if he did not come back, or if he were lost. Each of them swore to the other oaths of faithfulness. Their daughter's name was Maria, who has been the fairest woman in Norway. Now after Harold became king over Norway then he took him a wife and got Thora, daughter of Thorberg Arni's son and Ragnhilda, daughter of Erling Skjalg's son of Sole; their son hight Magnus, the father of Hacon the foster-child of Thorir of Steig. He was five ells high and the most courteous of men; a mighty warrior and the wisest of men. He had many brisk men with him; Nicholas his brother-in-law, the son of Thorberg, was the most esteemed. There were also Icelanders with the king. Bodvar and Asbjorn, the sons of Eldjarn, the son of Arnor carline-nose; and Odd Ofeig's son; Finn Kjartan's son and Thorarin Nefjulf's son; these all were well esteemed by the king. It was his wont to fare to feasts over the land in time of peace.

The king goes to a feast at the house of Aslak of Torgir.

2. It chanced one autumn that the king went to a feast in Helgeland; he went to the house of a freeman hight Aslak with one hundred men. That was at the homestead called Torgir. Aslak was a sage in wit and a great chief in Torgir. Bjorn was his son's name, a tall man and strong. At that feast the king sits three nights; the feast was of the best. It was served in a

hall, and it was all decked in the upper part with shields and war-gear, and there were many sports; and all who were there said they had never accepted a better feast. And the second day of the feast just after the mass had been sung, the king calls Aslak the goodman (to him.) Then the king said, "Pray are the laws "known to thee which the king Saint Olaf my brother, "set up; thou art said to be much of a lawyer." Aslak answers, "I am not able to say much about that." The king answers, "Whereabouts is it in the law about a "man if he brings up his son in secret?" Aslak answers, "That is not known to me that a man shall "not bring up his children just as he will." "It stands "another way in my book" said the king. "What is "that" answers Aslak; the king answers, "Whoever does "so has forfeited goods and peace." "Why" answers Aslak, "shall such hard measure be dealt him." The king answers, "He may not defend the land on the "king's side who is concealed; and he may also plot "secret treason against the king who is hidden." "That "cannot be laid at my door" says Aslak. "Nicholas "Thorberg's son told it me" says the king. Aslak answers, "Say'st thou that Nicholas?" He answers, "Tis "hard for me to lay a lie at the king's door, when after "all I have said something about it; I mind this that "I was here at Torgir ten winters old, and many men "called me rather stout for my years, but thou hadst "a son hight Heming six winters old, and we two "played at childish games, and he was in everything "stronger than I, and I never saw any one his match; "I left him behind me here; and since I have never "heard of him; and now that was all I said to the "king." The king asked, "Where is that man now?" Aslak answers, "Sooth it is that Nicholas says, that I "had a son hight Heming. And when he was seven "months old he lost his wits, and after that I sent him "to the Finns, and since I have never heard of him, "and I know not whether he be alive or dead." The king answers, "We will fare away hence now; but next

The king accuses Aslak of bringing up a son in secret, and when Aslak admits the fact that he had a son called Heming so brought up, orders him to be brought to him.

The king gives this order twice, and twice Aslak disobeys him

" year at this time thou shalt let thy son be come " hither whether he have more or less wit; and though " he be dead then I will see his bones." " As for that," answers Aslak, " I ween I shall not be able to do it." And now they part for that time, and the king fares away. But at the same season in the next autumn the king goes to the feast at Torgir to Aslak's house, and did not lack a good banquet. And when one night was spent then Aslak was called to the king. Then the king said, "Mindest thou Aslak what we spoke " about the last time I was here?" Aslak answers, " I have not thought about it." The king said, " Here " should now be come thy son, him whom thou hast " long kept hid." Aslak answers, " I have never paid " any heed to it, and I cannot get him brought hither " now." The king said, " I will not lay on thee such " strong wrath as thou art worthy of; we will fare away " hence and be away two months; after that I will come " here, and then let thy son Heming be come hither." " Aslak says, " You have no need to show so much " passion on this for I will willingly do your bidding." All men see a very wrathful look on the king's face; and so they parted for that time. And when that time was passed which the king had laid down, he came to Torgir. Aslak had then got ready for a feast and greeted the king most kindly. The king said to Aslak, " Is thy son Heming now here?" Aslak says, " Again " I have paid no heed to your words." The king said, " Send thou for him no sooner than thou likest; but " here we will stay till he comes, or till thy stores fail " thee; then thou wilt make no more feasts, or thy son " Bjorn." " That is in thy power," says Aslak. Now they part for that time.

The king comes a third time and Heming is not there. His wrath with Aslak.

Aslak sends Kalf to fetch Heming.

3. Aslak calls to him a man called Kalf. " Thou " shalt" says Aslak " get on board ship at once and " fourteen men with thee, and fare north to Snasar, and " land at the place called Framness. There thou shalt " go on land with four men. There thou wilt fall on a " little path in the wood; that path will get broader and

" broader as ye fare further along it. Ye must fare four " days, and ye shall still fare on the fourth day till even. " Then there will be before you a dale shut in between " crags and wood, so that ye cannot see the dale till ye " come up to it. Then you will see a cottage; go up to " it. There you will find no more folk than a man and " a woman; tell him the truth as to whence and what " ye are. There ye shall be that night. One of you " shall watch, and that man shalt be thou. Thou wilt " see a man come into the cot and rather big. I do not " hide from you that he is not so silly as I have told " the king. Then thou shalt stand up Kalf, and greet " Heming; and tell him my message, and beg him to " fare home to me. But if he does not yield quickly, " then bid him do as he pleases; but tell him that my " life is at stake and my son Bjorn's. But methinks there " is more hope that he will get to come somehow. But " tell him still that his life is at stake, if he comes, if " it be so as I ween. Bid him choose that course which " he thinks best." After that he bids them farewell. Then they fared on the way which was pointed out to them, and came at last to the house of the carle; and they were well treated, as soon as the carle knew whence they were. They went to bed at night all but Kalf, he was in a hidden spot; but they the master and mistress sit up by the fire. Then the carline said, "Methinks our " foster child is late in coming home." The carle said, " All the goods that I have I would give that he might " not come home this week." " What is at the bottom " of that," says the carline. The carle answers, " I am " afraid that these men have come to take Heming " away." " I don't know " said the carline " which way " I should turn if I have to part with my foster child." " I should be well content " says the carle " if I knew " that he would take the better course; but I very " much doubt that I shall have to part with him."

Kalf finds Heming.

4. They had not long to wait ere a man comes in a red kirtle, and he had a fillet of gold round his brow, but his hair lay down on his shoulders. Kalf thought

he had never seen a bigger or a brisker man. They stand up and greet their foster child Heming. Heming asks what had come. The carline says, "Men have come "from thy father, and we two are afraid that they "have come after thee." Heming says, "It must be "said that they have not come too soon." Kalf stands up and greets Heming, and tells him that his father sends him a message, and along with it "that he begged "thee to come home." "There must be something great "when a message has to be sent to me and I will not go." Kalf answers, "I have no need to hide from thee that "he bade thee settle for thyself," and then he tells him what his father had said. Heming answers, "Go "away in the morning; ye have no need to bide for me, "if I do not come." Then they slept out the night. But in the morning they fared to their ship. And then when they were ready to sail they saw where Heming was, running down the country on snow-shoon, and he gets on shipboard with them. Kalf asked, "When didst thou leave home?" "This morn" says Heming. Nothing is told of their doings before they get to Torgir. It was then so far on in the morning that men were going to prayers. But after prayers when the king had taken his seat, Heming went in before the king and hailed him. The king took his greeting well, and asked who he might be. Heming told his name. "Well!" said the king "I would not care to see the hide "of which thou art one of the shanks." Heming answers, "Every one is not as he is called; but I am come hither "because I wished to offer you all things in which I "can be of service to you, and which you will take of "me, though there is little furtherance in me; but all "that I may, and all that I can do, will I offer to get "peace for my father; but if you had it in your mind "to kill me, then I will not flee from that." The king answers, "Art thou any man for feats of strength." Heming answers, "So that carle and carline thought "who brought me up, as though I knew some feats; "but you will think them little or nothing; but if I

Heming comes to the king.

" am to pick out one before the rest, then I think I " may tell you of one." The king asks, " What is that ?" Heming answers, " On snow-shoon I care not with whom " I strive." The king answers, " I will first see thy " sports, and know what worth there may be in them." Heming answers, " You must let others play first, but " I will try to play after them."

Heming strives with the king,

5. Then the king goes out of doors with his men. The isle was much overgrown with wood. The king goes to the wood ; he sets a spear on its point down into the field, but the shaft stood up. The king took a bow, and shot an arrow up into the air. The arrow turned in the air and came down in the middle of the spearshaft, and the arrow stood up straight in the air out of it. Heming laid an arrow on the string, and shot it up into the air, and it came down into the notch of the king's arrow. Then the king takes the spear, and hurls it both far and true, so that all men spoke about it. The king bade Heming to hurl after him ; Heming did so ; and hurled just so far beyond him that the felloe of the point of his spear lay on the point of the king's spear. Now the king takes the spear a second time, and hurls it beyond Heming's spear by a whole shaft's length. Then Heming said " I need not hurl after for I cannot " reach up to this throw." The king said, " Thou shalt " hurl, and along with it have the boldness to hurl " farther, if thou canst." Then Heming hurled and far beyond the king's shot. The king took a knife and stuck it into a log, and shot down into the haft of the knife, so that the arrow stood fast in it. Then Heming took his arrows. The king said, " Thou art a " mighty famous man Heming, when thou hast thy " arrows bound with gold." Heming answers, " They " were given to me, but I did not let them be made, and " I have not taken my garb from them." Heming shoots after the king, and struck the haft of the knife, and split it asunder, but the point of the arrow stuck in the tang of the blade which went into the haft. The king said, " Now we two will shoot further," and takes

in feats of strength.

Heming surpasses the king in all feats.

an arrow, and was very wrath; the king drew his bow so that the tips seem to come together. The arrow struck a little twig very slender. Then all said that this was the most famous shot. Then Heming shot someway further, and the point of the arrow pierced a nut. This all wondered at who were by. Then the king said, "Now shall be taken another nut and lay it on Bjorn's "head, thy brother; and there thou shall strike the nut, "and yet shoot not less far than before; but if thou "missest, then thy life shall be at stake." Heming said, "You may settle as to my life, but this shot I will not "shoot." Bjorn said, "Nay, but thou shalt shoot rather "than lose thy life, for it belongs to every man to "lengthen his life while he may." Heming answers, "Canst thou make up thy mind to stand still, and not "swerve away, if I shoot at the nut." "Without doubt "I can," says Bjorn. Heming answers, "Stand by lord, "and see what befalls the nut." The king says, "By "thee will I stand." But he bade Odd Ofeig's son to look at the shot. Heming went thither where the king bade him stand and marks himself with the cross, and said, "It is known to you that I have no wish to do "my brother any hurt; but I lay all the blame on the "king if it happen otherwise." After that Heming shot and hit the nut and it rolled off Bjorn's head; but he was not hurt. The king came up and asked, "Whether he had hit the nut?" Odd said how it had been struck. The king said, "We will now leave off "shooting for this once, but thou bearest one-sided wit-"ness." Now they go home, and sleep out the night.

The king makes him shoot a nut off his brother's head.

6. After the morning-draught next day the king goes to the sea with his men. Then the king said to Halldor Snorri's son, "I mean thee to overcome Heming to-day "in swimming." Halldor answered, "They must be "caught who are better able to do that." Then the king called out Bodvar Eldjarn's son. Bodvar answered "Though I had all the feats of strength of all "the men who are here I would not for anything try "my hand here, and least of all, when I know that I fall

Heming strives against the king's men in swimming.

" short of Heming in everything." Then the king spoke to Nicholas Thorberg's son : " Thou shalt strive in swim- Heming
" ming with Heming." Nicholas answers, " I know overcomes
" not how it will go ; but I will try if you will." Then Nicholas.
the king ordered them both off to swim. Heming said, " With him will I ratherest try, if I am to try my " strength with any one." They take off their clothes and set off to swim. Nicholas asked, " What wilt thou " sooner try, diving or long-swimming ?" Heming answers, " Then there will be a choice of trying diving " when thou hast overcome me at the other first." Then Heming struck out thwart away from the land. And when they had swum a long time Nicholas asked ' Won't it be wise to turn back ?" Heming said, " Further on I thought you king's brothers-in-law must mean " to make the turning point of your path." And when they had swum a while, then Nicholas said, " Is thy mind " made up, Heming, to strike out further ?" "I thought " thou wouldst be able to take care of thyself though " thou rolledst back before the billow ; but I mean to " fare further." Nicholas answers, " I must turn back." And so he did. And when he had not swum long then his swimming grew dead ; and when Heming sees that he swam to him, and asked " How goes the swimming ?" Nicholas answers, " That is no business of thine, so go " thy way." Heming answers, " This has served thee " right, but still we two will bear one another up " together to the land." Nicholas answers, " I will not " say nay to that." Then Nicholas laid hold with his hands on his belt. And so they got both to land. Then Nicholas went on shore ; and he is very weary and stiff. But Heming sat him down on a stone out between high and low water mark, and the king asked Nicholas how Heming had behaved in swimming. Nicholas answers, " I had brought no tidings to land had Heming " not been a better fellow to me than I deserved." Then the king throws off his clothes. But Aslak goes to find Heming, and said, " Get thee away, and save thy- " self, for the king will have thee dead ; but there is

Heming strives in diving with the king.

" shelter in the wood." "I will fare nowhither," says Heming, "let the king come if he will; 'the ernes shall " 'claw one another face to face.'" Now the king plunges out a-swimming, and Heming goes to meet him. The king pulled him under water at once, so that other men could not see their struggle. But the sea was very unquiet over them. Then it began to grow dark at nightfall. And at last the king struck out for land; he was so wrath that no one dared to speak to him. No man saw Heming, and all thought he was dead; no one dared to ask after him. The king went home after he had put on his clothes; there was little merriment. The king was both wrath and mute, but Aslak was rueful with grief. Fires were lit in the hall. And when all had taken their seats then Heming walks into the hall before the king, and lays a strap-knife on his knee which the king had had on his neck when he plunged out a-swimming. Now all thought they knew that he must have taken the knife (from the king).

and overcomes him.

Heming runs on snow-shoon before the king.

7. Now the night passed. And next morning the king busked him to go away. He said that Heming shall fare with him to the mainland and be with the king. And so it was. On the land was a high fell. But their road lay forward along the hill-side by a byepath. There were crags sheer down below and high fells above; and the slope was no broader than one man might ride on straight along. The king said, "Now shalt thou Heming sport " before us on snow-shoon." Heming said, "Now the " ground does not lie well for it; for it is very rough with " ice, and there is little snow," and it was very hard on the fell. The king says there was no feat of skill in running if the going were good. Heming said, "You must have " your way." Heming gets on his snow-shoon and runs forward along the slope up and down by turns; and most men said that they had never seen any one run so lightly. After that he ran to the king and said, "I

The king orders him to run straight

" should like to leave off running." The king said, " Thou shalt not run but once more; thou shalt go " across up here to the top of the fell, and run straight

" down and stop thyself, if thou canst, at the edge of " the crags." Heming said, "That I see that you will " have my life, and so you need not put it off any " longer." The king answers, "If thou doest not this " as I bid thee, then thou shalt take death on the " spot." Heming answers, "There is little putting off " of death between this and that. But every man is " told to lengthen his life while he may, and so I will " do." Then Aslak goes before the king and offers him all his property to get Heming peace; but the king said he would not have it. "After all he would not spare " me, and so he must set off and do this." Heming prayed that no one would beg him off. And he goes away at once and Odd Ofeig's son with him. He said, " In an ill hour here we part with a fine fellow; and I " will show thee that I wished thee to live. And here I " have a linen cloth which Saint Stephen had before his " eyes when he was stoned; this I will tie round thee; " for that I know no living thing since Saint Stephen " had the cloth, over which it has been thrown, that did " not get back its health, whatever hurt it may have " had. But if thou runnest over the rocks, and art " lost, then the cloth is no better than any other linen. " But if life is fated to thee, though we two do not meet " again, then I will that thou takest good care of it, for " I do not give it thee." Heming says, "May be that " thou wilt not have a good return; but it shall not be " worse than none." After that they parted. No man knew of their converse. The king goes up on the hill, and all his men. The king had a red kirtle and a scarlet cloak with straps over him, and a spear in his hand. He loosed the straps of his cloak, and drove the point of his spear into the earth. Nicholas Thorberg's son stood at his back, and propped him up with his hands round his waist, and so on the rest of them one after the other, who stood by. Now Heming goes up on the fell and gets on his snow-shoon, and ran straight down the fell. He never ran at such a great pace that he could not steady himself; and next of all he came about to

down from the top of the fell.

Odd Ofeig's son lends Heming St. Stephen's napkin.

Heming falls over the crags and is thought to be killed.

where the king stood. But when he came towards the edge of the crags, he shook off the straps of his snow-shoon, and sprung up into the air, and the snow-shoon glide down from the fell, but he came down on his feet at the very edge. He sways about much. He clutched the king's cloak, but the king bowed down his head and strips off the cloak. Then Heming slides down over the rocks. Then the king said, "There now parted the

The king's quarrel with Odd Ofeig's son.

"dead and the living." Odd said, "Ye two would not "get the same lodging though ye had both died here." The king said, "What lodging dost thou mean that each "of us, I and Heming, would have had?" Odd said "Willingly would I get so worthy a lodging as I think "is in store for Heming; but I think that Christ could "not wish that the Fiend should be so glad of thee that "he should take thee in this evening." "I may not "grant thee less," says the king, "than that thou "shouldst get that good lodging to which Heming is "already gone." And he bids them take him and throw him over the cliff. Then Halldor Snorri's son answers, "Either all we Icelanders who are now here will die "in one way, or no one of us; but we will have some-"thing to show for our lives." The king said, "It "shall be done for thy sake Halldor, that Odd shall "have peace this winter; and fare to Iceland next "summer; and as soon as he is gone then he shall be "made an outlaw over all Norway." Odd says, "Let "by-gones be by-gones; for the king has done well "by me in many things; but I shall think it no loss,

Odd leaves his service.

"though now we part here." Odd fared away at once. But the king fared at once to that feast which was prepared for him. And we have not to speak of him first. But Odd fared out to Iceland the summer after.

St. Stephen's cloth saves Heming's life, and he vows to share all his goods between

8. Now it is to be told of Heming that he dashed down over the rocks; and he fared, as Odd guessed, like those who tumble off crags so that all his clothes blew out away from him, but one end of the cloth got caught in a jutting point of the rock and held fast. There hung Heming on the crag, and then knew nothing of what

had befallen him. A little after he came to his senses, and was all full of fear and dread. But as his wits grew so fear passed from his breast. Then he spoke to himself thus: "For this must I have caught fast here, "because it is no harder for God to let me get away "than to have placed me here with life and health. "Now I will vow this to God that I will share my "goods into three parts. A third I will give to the "Saint king Olaf, another third to pilgrims and poor "men; but the third to Saint Stephen; and that I "will give into the hands of Odd Ofeig's son. For "myself I mean to go south to Saint Peter, if God lets "me come hence. I pray God this that I may stand "as close at king Harold's death as he now thought he "was to my death." It was then dark night. He saw a great light over him, and a man walking to him down the crag, and he draws him up to him on the crag. He said "Here is come king Olaf Harold's son to find thee "and to help thee; for I would not that thou wert lost, "so that king Harold's guilt might be increased. But "thou shalt keep thy vow to go south. But if thou "comest among unknown men then thou shalt call thy-"self Leif while king Harold lives. That shall also be "granted when thou prayedst that thou shalt be close "by when king Harold dies; but methinks thou wilt "not repay me well if thou takest much part in that "quarrel." After that it seems to Heming that Saint Olaf the king faded away from him up aloft with the light; but he sees a boat and rows out to Torgir. He goes to the church, and sees many tapers burning, and there at their prayers lay Aslak and Bjorn. Then Bjorn said when he saw Heming come to the church-door, "Father," says he, "a muckle wonder. Here is come "Heming, my brother." Heming answers, "No wonders "are these for I am alive as ye see," and tells them all that had happened. They were more glad than tongue can tell. Heming was there in hiding that winter. But in the spring he shared his goods as he had vowed. After that Heming fared to England, and had with

St. Olaf, St. Stephen and the poor.

St. Olaf helps Heming to escape.

Heming comes to Torgir and keeps his vow.

He goes to England and then to Rome.

him that third of the goods which belonged to Saint Stephen, and caused it to be kept there while he went south to Rome.

Heming under the name of Leif is at king Edward's court.

9. There was a king called Edward who ruled over England; he was the son of king Ethelred, his mother's name was Emma whom Canute the mighty had to wife. The king was a wise man and had many friends. He had no children. To him Leif came, and the king received him well.

Odd Ofeig's son comes to him from Iceland.

But when he had been there a while then he sent word secretly to Odd Ofeig's son that he should come to him as soon as he might. But when Odd heard those tidings then he fitted out his ship, and sails first to the Orkneys, and so to England, and finds Leif there in London, and he welcomed Odd well, and he was there that winter. He let two bells be cast. Along with that he took the money which Heming gave to Saint Stephen for his life, and he also took the cloth; and Heming begged Odd to build a church with the money. And a little while before Odd was boun for sea, he was at a crowded meeting which the king held there.

The story of Adalbrigt.

There he saw a tall man in a cloak, with a sword garnished with gold in his hand. Odd went up to this man and asked his name; but he said his name was Adalbrigt. Odd said, "Whence gottest thou these treasures, "thy cloak and sword? for I know that my brother owned "these precious things, and he sailed from Iceland in a "ship, and was never heard of since." He said he had bought those precious things. Leif came up and said "Thou must tell the truth, for the king has a sword "called 'Touchtine,' and from it thou shalt have a "stroke. But that is the nature of it, that it becomes "every man's bane who lies; but it will not bite on one "who tells the truth." Adalbrigt says, "It will bite on "me then, for we were many of us on board ship; and "we took a ship; and those men defended themselves "manfully, but we murdered them all. And I do not hide "that I am this man's bane of whom you speak; and I "will give myself up to God's power and yours." Odd said, "I will not have thy life, but the king has power

" to decide on your stay in the land, but one hundred " marks of burnt silver shalt thou pay me." Adalbrigt agrees to this gladly. After that Odd busked him to go; and he got great honours from the king and Leif. He sails off to sea. Weather drove him into Norway; and there he made that haven called Eikunda-Sound, and they lay there some nights. One evening late king Harold came there with five ships. The king became aware that Odd had come thither. It was then dark at night. The king made them lay his ships across the sound further out than Odd's ship, and made them lash the ships together; but he himself had a tent on shore, and Odd was shut in. Men became unhappy. Odd said," Be not unhappy for I tell you sooth; Heming is " alive, and he had got into more risk than we are; and " we will look for our help where he looked, and that is " where God Almighty is. I will vow this to let a church " be built at Mel, as has been prayed me, and to lay out " money there; and to make there a monastery, and " give to it all the goods which we have here on board. " Ye shall all also vow something." And so they did. And when this was done then the wind fell. Odd bade them heave up the anchor and hoist the sail. Then a breeze sprang up. They laugh who are on land, and asked whether Oddr meant to sail up on land, or out towards the ships. Oddr steers out over the lashings between the ships, and sails away to sea; and comes with his ship to Midfirth, and fared home to Mel, and bade them build a church there; and it was hallowed to Saint Stephen. And that cloth is still there to this day which Heming had about him.[1]

Odd sails for Iceland and is driven to Norway and into king Harold's hands, but escapes by a vow.

He builds a church to St. Stephen.

10. Now we must take up our story and say that an earl ruled in Northumberland, hight Guddin (Godwin) Ulfnad's son; he had to wife Ingirid, a daughter of earl Thorgils crackle-leg; she was sister of earl Ulf, the father

[1] " Cujus etiam reliquiæ in eâdem æde nostro tempore visæ sunt" says Arngrim the learned in his MS. Supplement written in 1593. Barthol. Collect. No. 26, P. 199.

King Edward and the sons of earl Godwin.

of king Sweyn. Guddin had many children. One son of his hight Harold; he was the most courteous of men. The second hight Tosti; he was a tall man and a strong, scowling-browed, a great man for words, and the most warlike of men; he had not many friends. The third hight Kari, he was called Muru-Kari (Morcar), Valtheof hight the youngest. But his daughter's name was Velgerda; she was given away to that man hight Aki nicknamed Aki the tall; they were in Scarborough. One autumn king Edward came to Scarborough on horseback. He rode with a spear which Harold wished eagerly to have. But Tosti his brother hit on that plan, that he takes the spearhead from the shaft of his spear, and cuts on it (the shaft) a point of wood, and afterwards rides up to the king and said, "See, lord, my "spear; it has no iron on it." The king said, "I see "what thou wilt, and now I will give thee my spear "and this name along with it, that thou shalt be called "Tosti wooden-spear; and methinks it more likely "that thou wilt not lack greed, if thou seest others "more powerful than thyself." The king bade Harold to him, and he followed the king, and he parted lovingly from his men. But when the king came home, then he showed Harold a seat on the other high-seat by Leif. "He knows" he says, "most feats of skill and "strength, and he shall teach thee them all." Harold thanked the king mightily for that. And Leif took all pains to teach Harold such feats, and he alone in England knew all about Leif's life. And when five winters were spent, then Harold fell only short of Leif in this one thing that he was not so strong. And when Harold showed his feats before men, then all wondered where he could have learnt such craft; for no one knew that Leif knew so many feats.

Tosti wooden-spear.

Harold Godwin's son follows king Edward.

Leif teaches him feats of strength.

Harold was eighteen years old when he fared out of England west to France with twelve ships. There Robert the Rouen-earl ruled the land; he had a son hight William, and he was called the bastard; he bade Harold to his house; he was taller in growth than most

Harold Godwin's son and William the bastard

other men. William had to wife a woman called Molde (Maude); their sons were Henry and Robert, he was most courtly and a tall man. William invited Harold to him and he was there the winter. But in the spring they went into fellowship with all the goods that they had, gotten or ungotten; and also to whichever of them a realm fell or was inherited, then it should belong to both of them, and each was to back the other in all matters, and each to avenge the other as his brother. So they fared to warfare with twenty-five ships; and they followed that calling six years. Harold was the one of them that had more friends. brothers-in-arms.

11. There was an earl in England hight Henry of Gloucester; his son hight Helgi, a tall and strong man; he was a wise man and grasping. He gathers a host together, and harries king Edward's realm. The king gathers a host against him. That man was over the king's host whose name was John. They met at Bonolfstone (*sic*). And there was a hard battle; and the earl got the victory, but John fell, and the runaways sought the king. Then the king put that leader over the host whose name was Otti. He was the son of Birgir the Welsh-champion; he fared against the earl. They met at Hrutsark; and they fought for two days. There Otti fell, and the earl laid the land under him. That the king heard. He sent men after Harold Godwin's son and Leif; but meanwhile he gathers force. The messengers came to Harold and tell him the king's words. Harold says to William that he will yield the king help, but William says, "I will not part with my host." "Then" answers Harold, "we will share our goods and warriors "between us." William says, "Thou mayst fare if "thou likest, but the sharing of our goods shall not be "brought about now." Harold says, "One thing or the "other shall be, that we shall part the goods or we two "shall come to fight for them." It came about at last that the sharing of the goods was carried out. It is said that too much knowledge was between those two, Harold and queen Molde; but when William brought Henry of Gloucester rebels against king Edward.

King Edward calls on Harold to help him against Henry of Gloucester.

Harold and William quarrel.

this against Harold he denied it. And afterwards the plan of Molde and Harold was that he asked for the hand of the daughter of William and herself. And that matter was settled that he plighted his troth to her ere he fared to England; and their bridal was to be at Rouen after twelve months space. And then they parted friends for that once. Harold held on to England, and goes to find king Edward. Now the king gets together a host, and fares against earl Henry, and they meet at that river which is called Lodda (Loddon). And then they fell to the greatest battle. The king had so drawn up his host that Harold was to take the earl in flank with his men. And when the battle had stood for a little while, Harold came with a great force at the back of the earl's array and there was great slaughter. And next to that flight broke out among the earl's men; and that earl was taken prisoner, and a hundred men with him. After that the earl was slain and thirty men with him, but the rest were enthralled. A freeman came before the king, and said, "Here is a young and strong man, I "would, lord, that you gave him to me, and I will make "him my thrall." The king answers, "He looks to me "so that it will hardly be in thy power to use force to "him; but if he runs away thou wilt have to smart "for it; but if thou gettest no work out of him then "bring him back to me." The freeman said he had no fear that he could not tame him. After that they fared away home. The farmer said to that man, "We two will strike a bargain; I will treat thee well, but thou shalt work hard." The Guest says, "I will not work." The farmer said, "Thou shalt be put into "a house by thyself, and be starved to death then, if "thou wilt not work." "Thou must have thy way," said Guest. So the farmer put him into a house and starves him. At the same time he beats Guest so that he can hardly walk, and sometimes he flogs him so that blood lay on the earth. Between whiles he offers him money to work. Guest would not hear of it. And one time Guest said to the farmer, "Leave off "torturing me to work, for I tell thee henceforth

Harold helps king Edward to conquer the earl of Gloucester.

The story of Guest.

" once for all that thou wilt not enthrall me so with " all thy household." The farmer says, "Then I will " take thee to the king." Guest answers, "The king " will no more enthrall me than thou, though there " is more hope of his doing so than of thee." "His boons " thou shalt soon get," says the farmer. "I had meant," says Guest, "to beg little of thee; but I would like to " settle what time we two are to come before the king." The farmer agrees to that. Guest says, "Then it shall " be on Yule day as the king goes to high-mass." And so they do. The farmer greets the king, and said, "Here " is that man whom ye gave me last autumn; but I " cannot get him enthralled; for a hard stone is better " to soften than his heart." The king said, "Then kill " him." Guest said, "Peace I must have on this day." The king goes to church, and Guest says, "Fare thou " home, master, and be well pleased that we two part as " things are." But when the mass was sung then Guest goes before the king, and said, "It has been told me " that ye give to every man Yule-peace though thou " hast great cause against him." The king says, "Have " thou peace, if any one will take thee into his keep- " ing." Guest goes into the hall with the king, and walks up to Heming, and bids him set him free with the king. And so he does, that he gets, peace for Guest on over Yule.

The king gives Guest over into Heming's keeping.

12. But when Yule was out, Guest bade Heming give him his help. Heming says, "I cannot set my heart on " begging for thee if I do not know whom thou art." Guest says, "If there is little hope of thy yielding me " help when thou dost not know, there is none at all " after thou knowest what man I am." Heming says, " I would not yield it thee, if thou thinkest thyself too " good to tell me whom thou art." Then Guest said, " Thou must have thy way; but my name is Helgi earl " Henry's son; but I changed arms with my shield- " bearer in the flight, but he fell; and they thought they " had slain me." Heming goes before the king, and asks for leave for Guest to stay in the country, and that the king granted him for Heming's sake.

Heming finds out that Guest is Helgi earl Henry's son.

King Edward dies and Harold is king in his stead.

13. After the death of king Edward Harold Godwin's son took the kingdom in England in that wise as is said in the Saga of king Harold Sigurd's son. There it is said also that Tosti and the other brothers of Harold Godwin's son would have the rule in England with him, and did not get it. Then Tosti fared to Denmark to meet king Sweyn his kinsman, and he was well treated there, Tosti asked king Sweyn whether he had any claim to the realm in England. The king answers: "I do not "hide this, that I once thought I had; but methinks "it is now well bestowed when my kinsman king Harold "rules over it, for we two are cousin's sons on the "mother's side." Tosti answers: "Many men say there "in the land and in his council, that I and my brothers "own a third of the land." The king answers: "Methinks then that Harold is not sole king in "England if ye have a trithing." Tosti said, "If you "would fare now to win the land, I and my brothers "will yield you strength, and all our means, if thou "wilt take the lead. On these terms, if we win the "land that thou shalt make us kings over the land; "and we shall pay thee skatt, and give over the "land to you if you need it." The king answers: "I "will think over my answer about this," and said he should be there with him that winter. Tosti wished to know how his errand had sped as soon as ever he could.

Tosti goes to Denmark to get help from king Sweyn.

King Sweyn warned by his dog refuses to fare to England.

14. It happened once in the autumn that the king rode to a feast and Tosti with him. And so it was that they baited out by a bridge and ate. The king had a herd-hound, which fared with them; and the hound had given him one small loaf of bread. The hound runs on the bridge and sees his shadow in the water; and it seemed to him as though there was another hound in it, and that he had another loaf in his mouth. So he leapt off from the bridge into the river, and dived down into the water, and thought he would get the loaf from the hound. Now when he comes into the water then he loses all, and so fares back empty to land. Now the king said to Tosti,

" Sawst thou how my hound fared just now?" Tosti said "I did not pay close heed to it." The king said " The hound thought he saw another hound in the " water which had a loaf in its mouth, and thought he " must get and take away the loaf. But he leapt after " his shadow, and brought neither loaf to land. So I " know it will fare with me if I fare now to England; " then I shall see my shadow. But though I get back " hither, then it may be that king Harold (of Norway) " will be here before me, and then I shall not get this " realm either. So now I will give thee my decision on " thy business, that I do not come to England because " I will be king in Denmark so long as God wills; for " it behoves me now never to covet anything more. " But thou Tosti must fare to king Harold." And so he did. Tosti goes to king Harold.

15. That autumn before Tosti came to Norway Thorir of Steig dreamed a dream, and told it to his men and bade them interpret it. He said he thought he was standing at a Thing which king Harold was at. He sat on so great a chair that it filled all Norway; but the king was so big that his body reached out on all sides away from the chair. " Methought a man went up to " him and kissed him; but so methought a big fly flew " out of that man's mouth into the king's mouth just like " a raven. At that methought the king got a raven's neb " and with it he smote on the head all those who were " at the Thing save us men of Steig; of that methought " many died, but all took harm of it. I was then afraid " that he would smite us men of Steig. At that I " woke. Now will I myself interpret it. When we were " standing at the Thing and the king sat in the chair; " that was his throne of might. But when he stretched " every way beyond the chair then his greed grew in " every way out of his realm. But when methought he " had a raven's neb; then I am afraid that he will be a " prey to raven's nebs, and that the ravens will suck his " blood. When methought he smote men on the head " with his neb; that I guess will fall on their pates, so Thorir of Steig's dream.

The men of Steig refuse to follow king Harold.

" that many will get their death from it, but it will go " hard with all those who are with him." But we men of Steig will not follow him." . . . . become wise of witnesses that another is king over England. Now when it comes to Yule. . . . . Tosti might now take such fiefs of Harold, as of Sweyn, if the land were won. Tosti also tells him that king Sweyn would not turn towards his business. The king says that he will take counsel with his men how this shall be answered. Now Tosti was with the king over the winter. That winter earlier king Harold had sent Thorarin Nefjulf's son and Hjort east to Holmgard after that goat-skin which he left behind him there with queen Ellisif, as was said before, and they were not to come back unless they got the skin and the goods which were in it. They came back when Tosti had been a little while with the king. Hjort went in before the king and greeted him and says that Ellisif sent her greeting to the king. But he was so eager in his talk with Tosti that he took no heed of those who had come. Then Hjort sang a stave:

Earl Tosti comes to king Harold.

The king sends Thorarin and Hjort to Holmgard for the goat-skin.

They return with it.

Hjort's verses.

" The prince his gold
" Piles fast together;
" But never a word
" Will the sow's son[1] utter:
" Gey little land
" Should lap-Hamdir[2] have,
" Then perhaps Harold
" Would answer a man."

"How little?" says the king. "No more" says Hjort "than thou mightest lie upon." The king smiles and asks "How has it fared Icelander?" Hjort sang:

" Outside[3] in the 'toun'
" Is a billy-goat white,

[1] Sow's son an allusion to Harold's father Sigurd, who was called "sow" or "swine" from his stingy ways in farming.

[2] The meaning of "Laf-Hamdir" in the text is very doubtful.

[3] In these verses the skin of the he-goat is represented as a bug-bear in a nursery tale.

" He glares with his eyes,
" And has a long beard;
" He stamps with his hoofs
" And will carry off bairns,
" This nanny-goat's son
" Is madly ye-made."

The king bade them bear in the money. Then the goat-skin is borne in before the king. Then he asks whether she gave it without a word who handed the money over. Thorarin said she said never a word. The king said "He shall be asked who is more right-worded. " What sayest thou about it Hjort?" He answers, "This " I say, that she sang a stave." The king said "What was that?" Hjort sang:

" Never next spring,
" With long-ships west,
" Shall hare-hearted Harold,
" Oër salt-sea sail:
" For long shall be
" That quaking king
" Quite without hope
" Of England and fame."

Then said Tosti, "This is a spaedom when they bid " you fare to England; is there no hope of your coming " thither?" The king said, "Thou shalt go to the shrine " of the Saint king Olaf, and thou shalt swear an oath " that thou shalt speak the truth of the power * * * " but I will raise an host out of the land to win England, " but I alone will have the whole rule over the host." Tosti said he would take the oaths, "But if anything " thwarts your expedition, then these oaths shall fall " back on you." The king said so it should be. After that the king sends letters over all Norway, and ordered out the whole strength of the people. Then came to him Eystein the gorcock, the son of Thorberg Arni's son, and betrothed then Maria the daughter of king Harold and Ellisif the daughter of king Jaroslaf of Holmgard. Her mother was Ingigerd daughter of king Olaf the Swede.

King Harold calls out a host to invade England.

Nicholas Thorberg's son had then the stewardship in the nearest Thing (district) in Helgeland. This host gathered together in the Solunds. There was come the king and earl Tosti, and fifty liegemen. And one morning as the king lay waiting for a fair wind he tells Tosti his dream; that he thought a man boarded his ship, and he thought he knew it was his brother king Olaf. "He was very wrathful" he said and sang a stave:

Saint Olaf warns him against going.

"I, the king so stout in story,
"Famous for all time to come,
"Battles won and gathered glory,
"Fell a saint—but died at home:
"But this fleet to ruin wending,
"Rends my soul with woe-unending,
"Doomed to death and heaven-hated,
"Ogre-steeds[1] will soon be sated."

Tosti answers, "King Olaf cannot have sung this "stave; I rather think it is the witchcraft of Englishmen. "I ween" says the king "that no one is so skilled "in witchcraft that he can take the likeness of king "Olaf on him." "A good man was king Olaf," says Tosti, "But yet wizards have shown themselves in the "bodies of those men who were not less holy than he." The king answers, "I will fare to England with thee "for the sake of seeking an atonement, but for naught "else." Tosti answers, "On thee shall fall the oaths if "thou breakest up the levies." The king says, "I will "not run the risk of that."

16. It is so said when the king sailed out through Drontheim firth, and he * * * * a man (came) in a boat to his ship and bade the king run into the land and help his sick wife. The king asked what sickness she had. The freeman said that she had fallen asleep by a well; it was thought some snake had got into her mouth, "and it will ever since drink water." The king says the ship shall run into land. "Then ye shall know that ye

The king cures the wife of a sick freeman.

[1] Ogre-steeds, *i.e.* "wolves."

" have not a haughty king, though he be called hard and " stingy." The king goes on land and Thiodolf skald with him. They come to the woman, and the king bade them bear the woman to the same well whence she got her sickness. He bade them turn her on her face and lay her lips down close to the well. The king sat by and had a pair of pincers in his hand. He made them kindle by him a little fire. The woman wept sore; and begged they would give her to drink; but for all that the king would not let her have the water. Then her pain presses up into her throat; and her mouth bursts open and out comes a snake's head. The king took the pincers and caught the snake's head and drew out of her a living snake, and cast it into the fire. The woman is carried home after that and she was soon made whole. After that the king goes to his ship and sails south along the land with all that host that had then come to him from the north of the land.

Corpse-Lodin comes to the king.

17. It is so said that as the king lay in the Solunds there sailed in then off the main a Greenland ship. The captain of that ship was a man called Corpse-Lodin, for that he had brought the body of Finn fain and his crew from the Finnbooths, east of the Jokuls in Greenland at the bidding of Saint Olaf the king; for Finn was the son of Kettle Calf of Ringness in Heidmark, and Gunnhilda the sister of king Olaf. They put off a boat and row to the king's ship, and Lodin greets the king. The king asked how long they had been at sea? "Seven " nights." The king asked, "Were ye ware of any new " thing on the voyage?" "I can think of nothing " new now" Lodin answers. "Then his companions " launched the boat." Then the king said, "Thy men " do not think thou tellest the truth; so tell it now." Lodin answers, "When we had sailed two nights away " from the land, then we saw a fire burning; it was so " long that we could not see the end on either side; it " was as blue as flame; we had the fairest wind, but " we could in no wise sail by it. My plan was to sail right for the fire where it was lowest. We felt the

What Lodin saw on the voyage from Greenland.

" heat of the fire, and the sheets on both sides were burnt,
" and * * * * the sheets and bodies with fresh
" Greenland (tar). And when we had sailed three half
" days a pack of clouds came over our ship ; there followed
" such great darkness that men could not see their
" hands. Then we heard a great crash ; I looked up ;
" then the pack of clouds was broken asunder, and blood
" fell out of it all around us * * * * as it were a
" great waterfall, and this stream of blood came down
" on our ship and I made them set (buckets) under it, and
" that blood may still be seen here, and it is now clotted
" after it cooled ; for it was warm when it came down.
" And when we had sailed still three half days, then we

Further signs and tokens.

" heard a great roar. We saw then many birds flying,
" the names of which I knew in Norway ; those flew
" nearest us who were the greatest. They crew and
" clucked with mickle glee. This flight lasted about
" three hours, so that we could not see clear sky for it,
" and yet the same birds never flew by us again. After
" that we sailed two days still ere we came to land
" yester even. Then we saw the same birds flying
" from the west across the sea ; and then all the biggest
" birds were away. Then they all flew in silence, and
" as it were sorrowful. And when they came to land
" they scattered and each lit by itself. And now I
" have naught more to tell you." The king said, "Thou
" wishedst to keep this from me when thou saidest thou
" hadst seen nothing." Lodin answers, "I said so, Lord,
" because I thought this now no wonder after you had
" resolved on your expedition from the land." "Why ?"

Lodin says that the king will not come back.

said the king. Lodin said, "Because you will not come
" back ; but it is to be looked for that there will be
" great wonders before the falling away of such chiefs."
The king said, "Wilt thou follow me ?" "You must
" settle that" answers Lodin, "but I will seek the bodies
" of those of your men who lose their lives." The king
answers, "I stand more in need of men when I am alive ;
" but this is why you must fare with me, because thou
" sayst thou knowest all about our doings." Then the

king said, "Thinkest thou Tosti this any wonder?" "Had "it happened" says Tosti "to a truthful man it would "have been something new." "It would be worth "much" says Lodin, "that thou Tosti lyest no more lies "between land and land than I." The king gave Lodin leave to depart.

Dream of Hugi the priest.

18. Hugi was the name of a priest who sang mass at Avallsnes in Körmt. He dreamed one night that he thought he looked into the churchyard, and it seemed that all the folk who were buried there were up and stirring. They had a man among them, and tossed him about the one to the other; but on the other side of the church they had another man, and him they tugged each to the other. Thence there came forward a woman to the priest. She was stark-naked. The priest asked what that pother meant. She answers, "A corpse will "come to church to-morrow when the sun is in the "south-east which neither side will touch; but one will "come at mid-day which all will drag towards them; but "that corpse that comes first I wish to be buried on the "east of the churchyard; but that which comes later I "wish buried on the north, where the nave and choir "meet; and there ye shall find bones of a man, and "those I wish to be piled all round outside the corpse, "for they are my bones." "Then tell me," says the priest, "how will our king fare when he leaves the land?" She answers, "He will fall." The priest asked, "Who "will then rule the realm?" "Peaceful," she says. "How long will he reign?" says the priest. "Seven "winters and twenty" she says. "What will come after "him?" he says. "Strifeful will come then." "How "long will he reign?" says the priest. "Ten winters," she says. "What comes after that?" he says. "Good-"rede and Goodwill and Hardrede," she says. "Which "of them will be longest lived?" "Hardrede," she says. "How long will he reign?" says the priest. "Five and "twenty winters," she says, "but after him there will "be many ill deeds. But now I must tell thee nothing "more." The priest awakes, and next day the corpses

The ghost of a woman declares the king will fall in England.

came just as she said. But it was Olaf the quiet whom she called "Peaceful," but Magnus barelegs whom she called "Strifeful"; Eystein whom she named Goodrede, but Olaf whom she called Goodwill, but Jewry-Sigurd who was Hardrede. But God forbade that she should tell those ill deeds which were done afterwards.

King Harold sails for England and reaches Scarborough. Further tokens and warnings.

19. Now we must turn to that that king Harold sails out to sea with his host; he came first to the Orkneys, and left there behind him his daughter Maria and much other folk. Thence the king sails to England; and they came to Scarborough. Then the weather fell calm, and they lay there the night over. Men awoke at something that was sung in the air; and each thought as though it were over his own ship. All look up aloft and see a witch riding on a wolf in the air. She had a trough on her knees filled with blood and limbs of men. She sang these three staves:

"Westward Ho" with noise and rattle
"Rushes on the king to battle;
"Helter skelter, hurry-scurry,
"T'is for me they waste and worry!
"Soon my raven's darling brood
"Will fatten on their dainty food,
"Titbits torn from sailors stricken,
"Where I am disasters thicken:
"Where I am disasters thicken.

"Mighty fells shall veil their head,
"Sickness o'er mankind be spread,
"Peace be broke and hatred rise
"'Twixt land and land beneath the skies:
"On you, as on the folk of yore,
"I will lay my burden sore,
"South my wolf wends men to swallow,
"My weird is spoke, your doom will follow:
"My weird is spoke, your doom will follow.

"The Ogre-bride that scatters ruin,
"Kens the king's misfortunes brewing:

" What avails his fame in field,
" If she shows her blood-red shield!
" Lo! she plies the monster's maw
" Piling flesh 'twixt either jaw,
" Till from out her loathsome store,
" All his fangs are red with gore:
" All his fangs are red with gore."

Tosti puts no faith in them.

The king asked Tosti whether he is awake; Tosti answers, "I have waked just now at this strain." The king said, "Thinkest thou this is of any worth?" "Naught," says Tosti. "Then art thou dead at heart," says the king, "for I have been in many battles, and "never saw I such tokens before." They take the shore and land at the district called Cleveland. The king asks Tosti "What is the name of yon height north "there in the land?" "Every hillock," says Tosti, "has "not a name given it." "This, though," says the king, "must have a name, and thou shalt tell it me." "That," says Tosti, "is the 'how' of Ivar the boneless. "Few "are they," answers the king, "who have conquered "England who have come first to his 'how'." "'Tis "to believe in old wives' tales," says Tosti, "to put faith "in such things now."

The king fights against and conquers earls Morcar and Valtheof.

20. They go on land with the host, but some watch the ships. Those brothers Morcar and earl Valtheof, and Aki their brother-in-law, gather a host together as soon as they hear of the Norwegian host. They met at that river which is hight Ouse, and there the hardest fight arises, and is kept up till nones. Then Eystein had gone through the array of the English and slain Aki the tall. Then he sees that Morcar has got at the back of Tosti's battle; and so he turns with his men at the back of Morcar's battle. And when earl Morcar sees that he bids his men face about and defend themselves well and manfully. And at last flight broke out among his men, and they flee out into the river and earl Morcar is there slain and the most part of his folk. Many too sunk beneath the stream. By that time king Harold

had taken earl Valtheof prisoner. Then Tosti goes to the king and said, "Let those brothers both fare one "journey." "Thou shalt slay," says the king, "those "whom thou takest, but I will have my way as to "him." (Then) the king said to Valtheof, "I will give "thee peace if thou wilt swear never to fight against "me, and to send me word if thou knowest that "treachery is plotted against me the same day." "I will "not swear that" says Valtheof; "and I will not to "save my life cease to stand by my brother Harold, so "long as I may; but I will send thee word if I know "that treachery is plotted against thee, and I will do "that to save my life; but I will swear no oath; for "it looks to me as though Tosti does not mean me "to have much inheritance." The king left Valtheof quite free to fare whithersoever he would. Tosti says, "A senseless deed! to let that man loose whom ye "think too good to take an oath." "I ween" said "the king that his word is better than thy handsel." Tosti said, "Let us fare with our host to London, and "let us waste the land with fire and sword, and give "no peace to any man, neither women nor bairns." And so it was done. And after that they fare to their ships and south along the coast, and run their ships into Ravensaire. There they find in their way neither man nor cattle in the thorpes, everything so flies before them. And one day when the king lay in a haven, then a woman rode down from the country and asked for the king of Norway. The king said he was there. She said, "I "have a land-tent which I will give you." "Take the "tent," says Tosti, "and let it be burnt afterwards." "Burn," said the king, "what is given to thee, but I "am not aware that thy countrymen offer thee any "honour." He bids them set up the tent; and all said with one mouth that no man had ever seen so fair a tent. The king asks what return she will have for the tent. "Sons twain I have," she answers, "and I would beg "for life for them both." The king said, that both her men and her cattle should have peace if he knew where

The king's agreement with Valtheof.

They waste the land, and run in to Ravensaire.

A woman gives king Harold a tent.

they were. After that she rode away. But the king sleeps in the tent that night. But next morning the king says to Thiodolf the skald that he thinks Tosti said sooth that the tent was uncanny. "For methought "up to this time I saw seven plans for whatever might "happen, but now I seem to know no plan at all." "But "on your plans," answers Thiodolf, "we must after all "rest. The king said, "We will now change our "plans; we will go on shore with twenty hundred men, "but sixty hundred shall be by the ships; and their "leaders shall be those brothers Eystein and Nicholas. "Tosti shall follow me." So the king carries that out; he lands and burns. And when he comes to that town hight York, then the townsmen send him word that they will give themselves up to his power, and they bind that with oaths. That the king accepts. Afterwards he fares to his ships; but the next morning he was to go on land to hold the town with his men, and the king lay at his ships that night.

And when he had slept in it the king changes his plans and lands.

The king lands to garrison York.

21. But as soon as day came the king busked him to go on land to the town. They had shields and helms, but no byrnies, except a hundred men that were most lissom. "This is the greatest foolishness," said Tosti, "to go nearly weaponless into the hands of one's foes; "for ye need not trust the English men if they get "power over you, and a bad change has come over "thee king since the gift of that woman's land-tent." "At what art thou afraid now, Tosti," said the king. "This," he says, "methinks is much more fearful that "thou hast been reft of thy wits than that songs have "been sung over and against us." "For all that I will "have my way," says the king. Tosti was so unbeloved by the Norwegians that no one would listen to him. That same even when king Harold fared to his ships with the Norwegian host, Harold Godwin's son came with an overwhelming host from the south of England to York, and learnt there true tidings of the Norwegians. But as soon as the townsmen knew that the king was come, then they broke altogether their word

Tosti warns him in vain.

to the Norwegians, and went along with the host of king Harold. And straightway in the morning he rowed (sic) his host down to Stoneford-bridge, which now is called Stamford, and now each fare against the other. King Harold Sigurd's son said, "What is that to be seen up "in the country (is it) a whirlwind or the dust of "horsemen?" "Of a surety it is the dust of horsemen," says Tosti, "and you will now see the faith of my "countrymen." The king halts the host and waits; and soon sees that an overwhelming host in arms is faring against him. Just then came a man riding, and asked for king Harold. He was told where he was. "There now is Valtheof my brother," said Tosti, "slay "him." The king forbids that. Valtheof rides up before the king, and greets him, and bids him turn back as quick as he can to his ships, "for king Ha- "rold my brother fares against thee with an over- "whelming host; and you have not force to withstand "him were ye armed, and all the less now." The king said, "Farewell, Valtheof, and back thy brother "well. Thou has kept thy word well." The king asked then what plan they should take; and they were the most that bade the king fare to the ships to meet his folk. The king answers, "Never yet fled I "without a fight, and I will not now; for I grudge this "victory to the Englishmen that I be both chased and "slain." Then he sends men to the ships to tell Eystein the gorcock that he needed men. But he let the trumpets sound, and sets his battle in array. Then the English host also halts, and draws up its array. And then there was little more than two arrow-flights between them. And at that time three men ride up to the array of the Norwegians and asked if earl Tosti could hear their voice. One of them, he that spoke, was not a big man but slender-grown, and the most courteous of all men. He had a gilded helm and a red shield, and a hawk drawn on it in gold. The second man was the biggest and tallest of all men, and the strongest and the most comely. The third was a tall man and slim-waisted, and broad-

King Harold Godwin's son marches against him and they meet at Stamford Bridge.

Earl Valtheof keeps his word.

King Harold refuses to retreat.

Parleys and offers before the battle.

shouldered. He rode last. Tosti bade him say what he would. The knight said, "Harold thy brother sent thee "God's greeting and offered thee an atonement." "What "more," says Tosti, "does he offer now than before." "He thinks," says the knight, "it less worth to offer "now when such things have been done." "We will "not make that good with money," says Tosti; "but "what is now offered?" "He offered," said the knight, "that thou shouldst have a fifth of England, but he "would have no atonement for his brother; but what "you have done in scathe to the land, that," he said, "must be made good." "That I will not take," says Tosti. (Then) the knight spoke "I will not hide this "which he said should be offered last, that he would "rather offer thee half England, than that ye two should "strive for it in battle, and along with it the title of "king." "Then what will he offer to Harold king of "Norway?" "Because," says the knight, "he was not "content with his realm; then I will give him three ells "and a half of England in length, and so much more as "he is of more than middle height; but no more will he "get here, for I care little for him." "Too late," said Tosti, "have these offers been put forward; but this I "have often heard the Norwegians say that if a good "offer were made I would straightway sunder myself "from their quarrel; but now that shall not be." "Then," said the knight, "the king bade thee take the "whole blame on thine own head." And after that he turns away. King Harold Sigurd's son rode on a black horse with a white blaze on his brow, and was telling how they should stand in array while they were talking. Just then the horse fell under the king, and so it fares thrice running. The king said, "Why shall it be "so now brother Olaf?" he says, Tosti laughs and said "Thinkest thou that king Olaf makes the horse fall "under thee." He says, "I shall have to thank no other "man more for it than thee if he turns away from me." He gets off the horse and goes into the array. The king said to Tosti, "Who was this knight who spoke with "thee." "King Harold my brother," says Tosti. "Why

Harold Godwin's son's offer to Tosti.

He offers three ells and a half of English earth to his namesake.

King Harold recognizes Heming.

" saidst thou that so late," says the king. " I would " not," says Tosti, " betray him when he rode trusting " in my good faith." " He is a stately man," said the " king, and a goodly, and he stands now well in his " stirrups, but yet he will not rule the lands long. But " who was on either side of him ?" " Helgi Henry's son " was one," says Tosti, " but the other is called Bjarleif." "I little thought," says the king, "to see that man " here; for I know the man; and I would not have " fared hither on this warfare, if I had known he was " alive." " That is no business of ours," says Tosti.

King Harold's battle array.

Then king Harold, Godwin's son, asked Leif, " Who was " that tall man under whom the horse fell." " That was " the Norwegian king," answers Leif. " He is a grim- " looking man," says the king, " but not likely to live " long; for I guess his days are now spent." The king of Norway had so drawn up his array that his men who had shields were to stand in a ring, and all look outwards. " But those who have no shields shall stand inside and " fight out beyond them." But when the two battles were joined, then the Englishmen threw a ring round the Norwegian array. Heming had told his name and all that had befallen him ere he went into the battle. Then the Englishmen shout their war-cry. Then King Harold, Sigurd's son, sang a stave:

His verses before the battle.

" Onward we go
" In battle array,
" Byrnieless meeting
" Blue steel to-day:
" Bright helms are blinking,
" But Emma[1] I lack;
" Our war-weeds lie wasted,
" Down by the sea-wrack."

" Now that is ill sung," says the king, " and it shall " be mended."

" Come each warrior to the field,
" Never creep behind your shield!

[1] Emma was the name of Harold's favourite " byrnie " or shirt of mail.

" Where the onslaught rageth highest
" Odin's arm is ever nighest.
" She the maid that winneth battles[1]
" Bade me bear my head on high,
" When on brain-pan sword-blade rattles
" There to win the day or die."

Helgi's stratagem to break the Norwegian array.

King Harold, Sigurd's son, bade his men not fight too hotly, but to stand fast and not to quail. The Englishmen then begin the onslaught, but the Norwegians defend themselves so well that naught came of it. Then king Harold, Godwin's son, said to Helgi, Henry's son, " What plan shall be now taken to break their stand ; " for it is to be looked for soon that help will come to " them from the ships, and then we shall not attack " them so well when we can do nothing with them now, " and they are but a handful of men." " We shall " says Helgi " fall on them as stoutly as we can ; and if we " take no hold of them, then we will turn away from " them, and may be they will think that we are flying, " and then they will break their array and follow us up, " and after that we will turn on them again as quickly as " we can." And so they did. And when the Norwegians saw that they turned away then they pursued them, but when the others turned on them, then they could not get into their array and make a stand a second time. And now the battle was deadly ; but where they, king Harold and Tosti, stood there was no yielding. Then king Harold, Godwin's son, said to Heming, " What is " the good now of thy cunning and thy sharp-shooting " when thou dost not shoot the king ; thou alone canst " pick him out." " I do not hide it " say Heming " that " I have marked down the king, but I dare not shoot " him because of king Olaf." " I know not " says king Harold " for what thou faredst to the battle, if thou wilt " take no part in it. Shoot now so that I may know him, " because I dare shoot him in spite of king Olaf." Then

It succeeds.

Bravery of the Norwegian king.

[1] " i.e. the Valkyrie.'

Heming marks Harold Sigurd's son, and Harold Godwin's son shoots him with an arrow.

Heming shot at the king with a loose arrow,[1] and hit him on the cheek, and the arrow hung in the flesh. The king cut the arrow out at once, but he was easily known by that. Then Harold, Godwin's son, shoots at king Harold and hits him in the throat. Then the king sat him down. He said to Thiodolf the skald, "Come "thou hither and sit under my head. I have long held "up thy head." Tosti went to the king and asked whether he was wounded. The king answers, "A little "bit of iron was sent me; but this I ween that it was "not for nothing that it was borne out of the forge. I "will that thou takest an atonement from thy brother, "but as for me I will take that portion of the realm "which was offered me this morning." Tosti says, "One carle shall be the host of us twain to-night." "There thou speakest," says the king, "of that carle of "whom I would ask never to take lodging." And after that the king died. Then the Englishmen shouted their warcry; and say that the king of the Norwegians is fallen, and offer Tosti an atonement. Then Tosti grasps the banner; and says that they shall find that all the Norwegian leaders are not fallen, "So long as I am able to "fight." And now Tosti keeps up the battle for a while. Then said Heming, "Why, lord, dost thou not now egg "me on to shoot." "Because," says the king, "I will not "do my brother to death." "It is wondrous" says Heming, "that you should like to let your men be "killed down; and I will send him one keepsake if ye "do not forbid it." "I will not" says the king, "let "any vengeance be now taken though any hurt be "wrought on him." Then Heming shoots into Tosti's eye. Then Tosti said, when he got the shot, "This "marked me for God," and died at once. King Harold "then offered the Norwegians peace. Just then came Eystein gorcock and asked Thiodolf skald what tidings had happened there. Thiodolf chanted—

Heming shoots Tosti.

Thiodolf's verses.

"The host has had a heavy blow,
"Entrapped I call this army now;

[1] An arrow with a loose head which would mark but not kill.

" For no good end did Harold call
" His lieges from the East to fall:
" The clever captain's life is sped,
" And we are left in evil stead."

Eystein said, "Let us go forward manfully; we will "not fight under our shields, as though we thought we "were going to get anything else here than our graves." They rush so hard on that all the English array goes back. They tell the king that now they have not to do with mere men. The king answers, "Men they are, and "lives they have." But when they had fought long, then Nicholas said, "We may not keep up this onslaught "any longer, for the sake of weariness." "Sooth is "that," answers Eystein, "and so we must seek out a "plan. We will spring to the wood, but the English-"men will not follow us up much, for they will be glad "of any rest that befalls them; then we will throw off "our armour and afterwards renew the attack: and "each man of us shall fight for fame and not for length "of days." That, they said, they were all willing to do. And so they took that plan. Now the Englishmen shout and offer peace to the Norwegians. Then Eystein and the Norwegians rush forward and say that they shall find that the Norwegians would have no peace. Then the battle begins anew; then the Englishmen run away by hundreds from the king. Nicholas, Thorberg's son, fights with Helgi, Heming's son, and Nicholas presses on so fast that Helgi can do naught else than fall back and defend himself; but Eystein gorcock attacks the king and Valtheof. So hard was that fight, that ever since in England "Gorcock's Bout" is used to mean great peril of men. Then great loss of life happens, and more on the Norwegian side, for they were bare of weapons. Then Heming sees that Helgi is overcome by Nicholas. Then Heming shoots Nicholas in the small ribs, so that the arrow came out on the other side. Then Nicholas and Thiodolf skald, and a great crowd of the Norwegians fell. Eystein kept up the battle, and went so near the king that he slew his stan-

The "Gorcock's Bout."

The Norwegians are utterly routed.

dard-bearer. That Heming sees, and shoots an arrow under Eystein's arm, and into his heart, and he fell with great glory. All the Norwegians fled as soon as Eystein was fallen, those who could compass it. But the Englishmen did not chase the fleers. Then king Harold rode to London with no more company than five hundred men. He got men to bear to church the bodies of those men who had fallen, as well Norwegians as his own men. He also gave leave to Olaf, Harold's son, to go away from Ravensaire, and all those Norwegians who were left alive.

Olaf Harold's son leaves England.

22. William the bastard ruled over France as was before said. He hears of the warfare of king Harold to England; and he sends word over his realm, and summons to him a great host. Then he speaks to them and says, "It is known to you how the partnership of "us two, mine and Harold Godwin's son's fared; now "it is told me that a host is attacking his realm. Now "I will fare with this host to avenge him if anything "has befallen him. But besides at no other time will it "be easier to avenge on Harold that shame which he has "put on me, and to claim England; even though he may "have gained the day, for all his bravest and briskest "folk will be either wounded or war-weary." But on that day that William rode out of Rouen; then his wife went up to him when he had got on horseback, and took hold on his stirrup, and wished to speak to him; but he smote the horse with his spurs and she fell down before the horse, and the horse trod her down and she got her death there and then. He said, "When bale is highest bote is nighest,[1] and it is now "more likely that our journey will be good." After that they get on board ship and sail to England, and he harries as soon as he comes into the land. It is so said that he made them burn Ivar the boneless ere he began to harry. That king Harold hears, and summons

William the bastard invades England.

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[1] This old North-country proverb exactly expresses the meaning of the Icelandic original. *See* Icel. Dict. s.v. Bysna.

men to him; then his folk were very sore of their wounds. The king offers them to leave the land if they thought they were unable to follow him; but all said that they would follow him. The king says, "Give me up if ye "will not follow me truly." They said they would never part from him. He marches with his host against William. And there a hard battle arose. That was nineteen nights later than that on which king Harold Sigurd's son fell. Then there was a great slaughter of the Englishmen because there were many in that battle who were fit for nothing. They fought all day. And about even king Harold Godwin's son, fell, but Heming and Helgi and Valtheof threw their men into swine-snout array[1] and nothing could touch them. Then said William, "I will give thee peace, Valtheof, if thou wilt swear "fealty to me; then shalt thou have the inheritance of "thy fathers' and the earldom." "I will swear thee no "oaths," answers Valtheof, "but I will give my word to "be true to thee if thou grantest that." "On these terms "we two will be atoned," says William. "What lot," asked Valtheof, "shall they have, Heming and Helgi, if "they come into the atonement?" "Helgi," answers William, "shall have his inheritance and his earldom; he "shall swear fealty to me, and tell me all those plans "which he can see better than I can; but Heming shall "be with me; and if he be true to me then I will honour "him most of all men." Then Valtheof asks, "What plan "will ye two take?" "Heming shall settle," says Helgi. "I know," answers Heming, "that it will seem worth "while to you Englishmen to stay this war; but me-"thinks there is no joy in living after this battle; but "still I will no longer keep you in peril than ye wish; "but this I ween that Valtheof's peace will be short." "Better is it," answers Valtheof, "that we should be "overthrown than to trust no one; nor shall any more "men lose their lives for my sake." They gave up the battle, and go into the king's peace. Then William is

His victory over king Harold.

His atonement with Valtheof, Helgi, and Heming.

[1] The wedge-shaped phalanx of the Northmen.

chosen to be king, and they ride thence to London. Valtheof begged leave to go home, and got it, and rode away with ten men. The king looked after them, and said, "It "is unwise to let that man ride away free who will swear "us no oaths; and ride after him, and slay him." And so they did. Valtheof got off his horse, and forbade his men to defend themselves. He went to a church, and was there slain; and there he is buried, and men think he is a good man.

King William orders Valtheof to be slain.

23. That night after king Harold, Godwin's son, had fallen, then there drove to the field of carnage a cotter and his wife to strip the slain and get themselves fee; they saw there great heaps of dead, and they see there a bright light. They spake together and say that there must be some holy man among the slain, and they fall to clearing away the dead where they saw the light; they see that a man's arm came up out of the slain, and on it was a great gold ring. The goodman took the arm in his hand, and asked whether that man lived. He answers, "I live." The carline said, "Clear away "the corpses, I think this is the king." They raise up the man and asked if he were to be healed. The king says, "I do not gainsay that I might be healed, but that "ye two will not be able to do." "We will run the "risk of that," said the carline. They lifted him up and laid him on the wain and drive home with him. The carline said, "Thou shalt cut the thews out of the "draught beast, and the ears off his head; and if "men come to thy house to look for the king's body, "then thou shalt say that I am out of my wits, but "that wolves have torn thy horse." They cleanse and bind up the king's wounds and hide him in their cottage. A little after king William's men come thither, and ask whether he had borne to his house king Harold alive or dead. The carle answers, "That I have not done." "It "is not to be gainsaid," they answer, "for the trail of "blood lies toward thy house." "As to your king, says the carle, "methinks he is no loss; more loss me-"thinks is there in my draught horse which the wolves

Harold Godwin's son is borne off the battle field by two poor folk and hidden and healed.

" tore the night before the battle happened." "This " must be sooth," they answered, "for we saw here the " horse torn, but still we will go in here and search and " see what is to be found here." "There is no end to " my woes," said the carle, "my wife has lost her wits, " in that she heard the horns and the shouts of battle." Still, for all that, they will go indoors; but when they came inside there the carline sat by the hearth and ate charcoal; and when she sees the men she jumps up and snatches a pitchfork and swore at them, and says she will slay them. They go out and laugh at her and go home as things stood, and told the king they could not find king Harold's body. But the carline and her husband had the king in hiding till he was quite whole; then the king sends the carline to Heming, and she tells him where the king was. "Now foster-mother" says Heming "it " stood you in good stead that thou hadst something " in thy head." "I was not mad at any rate," answers the carline. The day after Heming came to the king and there was a very joyful meeting; they talk together all that day. Heming offers the king to go through the whole land, and gather a host together. "And then" (he says) "you will soon get the land away from William." "I see," said the king, "that this may come about, but " there would be far too many oaths broken, and I am " not willing that such wickedness should spring from " me. Now I will go after the pattern of king Olaf, Tryggvi's son, who after he lost the day off Wendland " would not come back to his realm, but rather fared " out to Greece, and there served God while he lived. " Now I will let a hermit's cell be made for me at Can- " terbury, where I may very often see king William " in the church; but that food alone will I have which " thou bringest to me." To this Heming agreed. The king gives the carle and his wife good store of money, but goes afterwards into a hermitage. There he is three winters, so that no one knew what manner of man he is beside Heming and the priest who shrove him. And one day that Heming came to Harold then he tells him he has

King Harold and Heming meet.

Harold refuses to claim the kingdom.

King Harold becomes a hermit at Canterbury.

He takes a sickness and dies.

taken that sickness which will bring him to his death. And on a day when king William sat at the board then a ringing of bells was heard over the whole town. The king asks why there was such a pretty peal. "I "guess," says Heming, "that a monk is dead whose "name was Harold." "What Harold is that?" says the king. "Godwin's son," says Heming. "Who has "harboured him?" says the king. "I have done that," answers Heming. "If that be sooth," says the king, "then it shall be thy death; but we will see his body." After that they go into the cell where the body lay; and then it was stripped, and then all knew king Harold. The body was fair and comely, and men smelt there a sweet savour, so that all who were by understood that he was a truly saintly man. Then the king asked Heming what he would do to save his life. "What "do you ask?" asks Heming. "That," says the king, "thou swearest me this oath that thou shalt be to me "as true in all things as (thou wast) to king Harold, "and back me as thou backedst him." "Rather will I "die with him," says Heming, "than live with thee; "but I might have betrayed thee long ago if I had "wished it." "Most true it is," said the king, "that "there will be one brave man the less in England if "thou art slain; I will now offer thee to make thee the "foremost baron in England, and to be at my court and "rule it all; or I will give thee, if thou wilt not choose "that, three pounds income every twelvemonths, and be "wherever in England it seems good to thee." Heming thanked the king for his offers, and said, "I will "take that, to be in England, but goods I have no lust "to have henceforth; but this I will beg of you, that "you give me leave and give me this same cell, and "here will I end my days." The king was silent a long time, and said "For that this is asked of a clean heart, "then shall it be granted thee." After that William let them clothe the body of king Harold with royal robes, and made his burial the most seemly, and he was buried with the greatest honour. A little after

Heming tells king William.

King William forgives Heming, who goes into the same cell

Heming went into the above-named cell and served God till his old age, and at last he was sightless and died in that hermitage. and there dies.

And there now ends what is to be said of Heming.

F.—THE SAGA OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

E.—EDWARD'S SAGA.

The early life of Edward.

The saint king Edward in England was the son of Ethelred the son of Edgar, who was the first sole king over England. Of him heard saint Dunstan the bishop the songs of angels in the air when he was born, with that token that in his days holy Christianity would find peace and prosperity in England. The mother of saint Edward was queen Emma, daughter of Richard, duke of Normandy; she was sister of Robert who was called "the Devil"; he left the dukedom and went into hermit's life. Saint Edward loved straightway in his youth holy church and prayers, to visit cloisters, and to love those monks whom he thought holiest and most virtuous; and also to give noble alms to those who were poor and needy. He had always invocations to Almighty God and his saints in his prayers; but he still honoured most of all after God our Lady, the holy Mary. Next he had the apostle Peter as his special foster-father, and John the Evangelist as the guardian of that pure life which he kept all his days; for so say men thoroughly learned in the matter that those three maids whom he took as his wives, one after the other, kept their virginity at his persuasion all their lives. But after Robert, his mother's brother, who had sundered himself from rule, William his son took the dukedom in Normandy, who was called "bastard"; but for all that he was the son of a lawful wife, and his mother's name was Gunnhilda, daughter of king Edgar, and sister of king Ethelred; but all the dukes in

His love of the saints and his chastity.

Early life of William the bastard.

Normandy before him were sons of concubines, and for that he was called "bastard," like all his forefathers. They made peace between them William the bastard and Baldwin the gentle count of Flanders, and the count gave his word to give him his daughter Matilda. And when the duke came to the count's house to see the maiden, and he spoke to her blithely, and called her his "*Amie*," then the lady answers "Mad art thou, tramp, "when thou thinkest that I, come of a king's stock, "could wish to be wedded to a bastard." Then this young duke waxed wrath, and took her by the hair, and felled her to the earth, and trode her under foot, so speaking "I am not a bastard save by nickname." After that he jumped on his horse and rode away in haste. The count and his wife comforted the maiden, and promised her that they would wed her within a month to a duke of Saxony. The maiden answers "To no one will I be "wedded in my life save to him to whom I was "promised, for to my mind no one can be compared to "him." After that the count and his wife sent men after the duke to call him back. The duke thought that they would take him back by force, and for that he hewed one of them asunder at the waist at one blow. But they said that the count meant him naught but good, and confirmed that on their word. Then the duke turned back with them to the castle, and the count made him good cheer, and at that meeting he made Matilda, his daughter, the betrothed bride of the duke, and kept their bridal with the greatest pomp. And after that the duke fared home to Normandy.

He wooes the daughter of Count Baldwin.

His marriage.

2. Now we must tell of the saint king Edward that all Christians in England were glad at that freedom which they had got, after king Canute the mighty and his sons, in taking Edward as king, who was come from the rightful and old royal race in England; for that in his crown holy church got freedom, and great men advancement, and the whole people peace and liberty, vikings and robbers lowering and chastisement. Many things were remarkable in his life as to his tokens and

Deliverance of the English from the Danes under king Edward.

prophecies, though we can tell few of them for lack of knowledge, and because we are so far off.[1]

Edward's visions.

It befell on a Whitsunday, in Peter's Church, at Westminster, when saint Edward was hearing high mass there, clad in his full royal robes, that when the priest lifted up our Lord's Body, such a burst of laughter came upon him that all wondered who were by. After the mass men asked him, the king, what was the cause of that strange laughter. "The king of the Danes" answers the king, "was busking him with a countless host and a "multitude of ships to harry our land, and just as he was "stepping up into his ship from a boat, then he fell "overboard and was drowned by God's rightful doom." Then messengers were sent most speedily to Denmark, and all this was proved to be true that the king had spoken. But because this Dane-king is not named, then learned men in the king of Norway's realm think they cannot know for a surety who this king was; except that according to the words of Gizur Hall's son, one of the wisest men in Iceland, it is said that this king must have been Sweyn, son of king Canute the mighty and Alfifa.

The death of the Dane-king.

His vision of St. John the Evangelist.

It so befell again on a third day of Yule, on the feast of John the Evangelist, as the king walked in the procession, clad in his royal robes, then he saw by him as it were a pilgrim come from Jerusalem in a fair garb, and that pilgrim begged the king to give him something; but the king said he had nothing there that he could give him, "Give me something," said the pilgrim, "for the sake of that holy man whom thou lovest most." Then the king called to mind John the Evangelist whose feast was then kept and gave the pilgrim his coronation ring, and then the pilgrim went away. Next night after saint John was revealed to a noble captive Englishman, who had been nine winters a captive to

He gives his ring to a pilgrim, who is John the Evangelist himself.

[1] "Which truthful men have "written in books, but for lack of "knowledge we know hardly what "happened first or last in his days, "and so we tell that first which we "think most worth telling." Fl.

the Saracens, and bade him tell the king of the English that it was John the Evangelist himself who had appeared to him on his highday, and bade him give the king his ring as a token that this was true, and that he might the less doubt what he said. Then saint John bore him at one swoop and in a short time back to England to his own estates, and he was soon known by his wife, children, kinsmen, and housefolk; and he rested that day by them. But the morning after he fared to the king, and told the king, so that all men might hear who were in the house, those words which saint John had bidden him to tell the king. He told also exactly how saint John had borne him and set him free in a moment from the grim thraldom of the Saracens. This all wondered at who heard, and men especially kindled by this unheard of event to praise and love towards saint John the Apostle and Gospeller, and to saintly obedience towards the saint king Edward.

His ring is sent back by the saint.

It was on a time on Easterday at Westminster, as the saint king Edward sat at the board, crowned in the midst of many chiefs; but these were the most noble—earl Harold and a bishop and a mighty abbot. The king cared more for heavenly than earthly things, so that he saw as in glass those wonderful things which brought on him loud laughter. And when the boards had been cleared the chiefs asked at what he had laughed. And so when they had long asked, then he answers. The Seven Sleepers who rest on the Cælian Hill[1] have now lain two hundred years on their right sides; but when I took to laughing they turned on their left sides, and so must they lie there four and eighty years. And this is to mark the great lucklessness of mortal men, for in these four and eighty years those things will happen which God hath foretold, and which must be towards the world's end, that nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there shallbe great earthquakes and pestilences, famines, and terrors in the

King Edward's vision of the Seven Sleepers, which is proved on enquiry to be true.

[1] Here the writer places one of the hills at Rome at Ephesus.

heavens; for now will arise strife and war between heathen and Christian men; but the Christian men will win by turns the victory over heathen men." Many things saint Edward told them, which they wondered how he could know, both of the martyrdom of the Seven Sleepers and of their aspect, and most of things which stand written down before of them in no book; and he told them so exactly as though he had often stood by the Seven Sleepers. But those chiefs who heard that and were named before, Harold and the bishop and the abbot, sent their messengers—the earl a knight, the bishop a clerk, and the abbot a monk—to the emperor at Micklegarth. They had with them letters and presents from king Edward to the emperor in Micklegarth. The emperor of Micklegarth received them worthily, and sent them to the bishop of Ephesus with his letters, which the Greeks called "*sacram*," that he should show the king of England's messengers the bodies of those holy Seven Sleepers. And the bishop did so, and all was proved to the messengers just as the saint king Edward had told them. The Greeks too said they were ready to swear that their forefathers had said that the Seven Sleepers lay on the right side; but now, as was proved for the sake of the messengers of those English chiefs, they lay on the left side. After that happened speedily what king Edward had foretold of strife and other troubles in the world; for Hagarenes, Arabs, and Turks raised great strife in Syria, Lycia, and Asia Minor, and wasted there many towns, Ephesus and Jerusalem seven years; and after that next in other seven years three Popes died, Victor, Stephen, Nicholas.

His vision of the Sacrament.

4. Once on a time on a great highday when king Edward heard mass, and a bishop stood near. And when the body of our Lord was lifted up it seemed to the king as though it were a young swain very fair. He pointed this out to the bishop as it appeared to the king and him, but to no more of those who were near.

His miracle on the cripple.

It befell on another time that king Edward sat on his throne, and that a cripple lay before the door of his

lodging and said thus, that Peter the Apostle had sent him thither, and so spoken that the king himself should bear him to Peter's church, and then he would be a whole man. But when this was told to king Edward he went to him, and heard himself from his mouth those his words. And for his faith and humbleness sake, then he took the cripple up in his arms and bore him to Peter's church in London, and set him down there. Then the cripple was made whole and upright as a leek. All praised God who saw these miracles.

His miracle on the blind man.

It so befell once on a time when king Edward sat at the board that three men came into his lodging, and two were blind but one had one eye, but yet saw little with that. They begged the king to have pity on them, and told him their ailments. King Edward bade them bring him the water in a bason in which he had washed his hands after meat, and bade them stroke their eyes with it. And when they had done this they were whole on the spot, and went away joyfully, and had for the king's holiness got five eyes. In the same way men got cured from the water in which he washed his hands, and when he passed his hands over them who were sick.

King Edward marries the daughter of earl Godwin.

5. At that time when two of king Edward's lawful wives were dead, who both had kept their virginity at his exhortation, he took to him the third, and she was a daughter of earl Godwin, Ulfnad's son, a sister of Harold and Tosti and the other sons of Godwin. Then that kinsfolk took great honours in England, and they all had the best earldoms in England. So say the English men that Harold Godwin's son has been the boldest man found in England, and that he was the best knight both of new and old time. King Edward had a young brother by the same mother; but we cannot name the lad's father, but still he was a noble chief. But this lad was called next to the kingdom in England after Edward if he should die sonless. But when earl Godwin was aware of this from his daughter that she kept her virginity at the exhortation of king Edward, and they could have no son to take the realm after him, then

he would lay his plans so that Harold his son should become king, who was then thought the man of most mark of all the English chiefs. And about that time the king's brother took a sudden sickness and died, and there was then much talk what it was that brought this scathe on the lad.—It was on a highday that king Edward sat at his board, and earl Godwin sat on one side of him, and on the other sat a bishop. And when a man bore in meat before the king, his foot tripped and stumbled as about to fall, but then he stamped down his other foot, and so steadied himself. Then earl Godwin took to speaking, and said, "There now brother helped "brother.[1]" "My brother" answers the king "will not "help me so," says he. "May God," answers Godwin, "so let me thrive on this morsel which I now eat, as I "had no hand in thy brother's death, though thou art "ever misdoubting me of it." After that he took the morsel from the dish and meant to eat it. But the king took him by the arm at the wrist, and stretched it out to the bishop and said, "Lord bishop, bless." The bishop did so. After that earl Godwin put the bit into his mouth and ate, but when he wished to swallow it the bit stuck in his throat, so that it neither went up nor down, and of that he died there and then, and was dragged out of his high-seat backwards, and thrown to birds of prey. But still he was buried afterwards at church by the prayers of his friends and kinsfolk.

Edward's brother dies.

Earl Godwin is choked at the king's board while denying that he had any hand in the lad's death.

6. King Edward made up his mind after that that he thought duke William the bastard was next to the kingdom in England after him, both for this cause that he was come from the kings of the English, and because of the near kinship which was between them. Once on a time when Edward had a conference with all the greatest chiefs, he made all take an oath to him; first the sons of Godwin, and all the rest after them, that they would take no king after him but William the bastard. But it was a little after that Harold Godwin's son fared on some business of his own south over the sea, and could

King Edward makes duke William his heir.

[1] An allusion to the story of Erp, Sörli, and Hamdir in the Younger Edda.

not get back for the sake of foul winds. Then he came to visit duke William, and stayed with him a-while. Then he took an oath to William also that he would not hold the realm against him when they lost king Edward. It is also some men's story that then he betrothed a daughter of the duke, and broke himself those bonds.

Death of king Edward.

When king Edward had ruled England three and twenty years he was seated in London. Then he took sickness at Yule, and calls to him many chiefs, and again gave it out that William was to be king after him in England. But when the sickness began to press him so that he had little voice left, men say that Harold stooped over him and called men to witness afterwards that the king had given him the kingdom after him in England. King Edward died a little after and was buried in London in Paul's church. He shone by miracles straightway after his death as he did before, and lay in earth till saint Thomas the archbishop translated him and let them lay him in a worthy shrine.

Harold declares that Edward had given him the kingdom on his deathbed.

7. For that Harold, Godwin's son, was of great family in England, and a very proper man in himself, but the rulers of the land thought it hard to come under the rule of outlandish lords, then they took Harold to be king, and he was consecrated under the crown as the custom was of English chiefs. In this design his brother Tosti had no share, but he was older, and so he thought himself nearer to the kingdom. Then he went to meet his brother Harold and claimed to be even with him, but when Harold said "nay" to that, then he fared out of the land and fled to Denmark to find king Sweyn, Wolf's son, his kinsman, and bade him fare to England and win the land under his rule "as the Dane kings of "old had done." But Sweyn was not ready to do that. Then Tosti fared north into Norway and egged on king Harold, Sigurd's son, to fare to England and win the land under him. And that same summer those two, king Harold and Tosti, fared to England with a host and slew Morcar, Godwin's son, but earl Gurth his brother fled out of the battle. But a few nights after-

Harold and Tosti quarrel.

Tosti goes to Norway.

Battle of Stamford-bridge.

wards they fought at Stamford-bridge with king Harold Godwin's son, and there they both fell, Harold and Tosti, as is said in the annals of the kings of Norway.

Duke William invades England.

When William heard of the death of king Edward, and that Harold had let himself be chosen king in England, it liked him very ill, and he thought Harold had broken his oath and agreement with him; then straightway he summoned all the chiefs he could get and a mighty host beside. He made ready that force for England. He came there just at the time when the two Harolds had fought. Then he began to harry the land where he made the coast, and laid it under him whereever he went. But when Harold, Godwin's son, heard that he fared against him, and their meeting was south by Helsingport, and either side had a very great host; then earl Gurth spoke to his brother Harold and said, "I am afraid that it will not answer for thee to hold a "battle against duke William because thou art bound "by oaths to him, and thou hast sworn not to hold "England against him." King Harold answers, "May be "brother thou art better fitted to fight with William, "but I have not been wont to lie in a lair when other "men have fought, and William the bastard shall not "hear this that I dare not look him in the face." After that king Harold made them set up his banner before him and went out to battle against William, and there was the greatest battle, and it seemed uncertain a long time which side would win the victory. But as the fight went on the loss of men turned on the English side, and a great host fell there, and all fled who chose life. There fell king Harold and his brother Gurth, but Valtheof their brother fled out of the fight. William the bastard caused him to be burnt afterwards in a wood, and a hundred men with him.

Battle of Hastings.

Harold is defeated.

Story of his rescue.

It is the story of Englishmen that in the night after the battle of William and Harold some friends of king Harold fared to the battle-field and looked for his body, and found him alive, and bore him off to be healed; he was cured in secret. And when he was whole he would not

strive with William for the kingdom. And it is the story of many men that he has lived on all up to the days of Henry the old.[1]

King William buys off King Sweyn of Denmark from invading England.

9. William the bastard laid under him all England, and made himself be taken to be king and consecrated under the crown; so he became the greatest prince But for all that his rule was very hateful to many men and chiefs in England; and then the English chiefs whe would not serve William send messages to Sweyn Wolf's son, the Dane-king, that he should come to England with a host of Danes, and they would fight against William, and come under king Sweyn. But when William heard of those messages, then he sent south (?) to Denmark Godwin the young, Godwin's son,[2] and along with him a famous bishop. They fared with great gifts to the Dane-king, and begged him off, that he should not harry in his realm. And for that same king Sweyn was turned back from faring with a host to England. And so it went on for some years that William sent the Dane-king gifts, and so saved his kingdom. And that is what the Danes rest on when they say that king Sweyn has ruled England after Hardicanute and Edward the good.

The English chiefs fly their country and go to Micklegarth.

10. When the English chiefs were sure that the Danes would not help them against William—but they had made up their minds that they would not abide under his rule—then they left their estates and fled away from the land with a great host. There were three earls and eight barons who were their leaders, and the foremost of them was Sigurd earl of Gloucester. But they had three hundred and fifty ships, and aboard them a great force

[1] Fl. gives this more minutely. "And when he was made whole, "then it was offered him by his "friends to make war on William, "and get the land whatever it cost. "But king Harold would not do that, "and said he understood that God "in the kingdom of heaven would "not grant him the realm. 'And "'after all, may be it is better so.' "Then the king took a better plan "to give up this world's honour, "and went into a cell and was a "hermit while he lived, so serving "Almighty God unceasingly both "night and day." Comp. Hemings story.

[2] Fl. "the son of earl Baldwin."

many picked men. They fared first south over the sea, and afterwards west off Mathewsness, and so further off Galicia-land, and thence they fared to Norva-sound and further across the sound to that capital which is called Septem. They made an onslaught on the city and got it won; they slew there a host of heathen men, but took so much fee in gold and silver that it was more even than what they had taken away with them from England; and yet that was very great, because they had turned into money all the estates that they had in England. Thence they held on east through Norva-sound and came to the isles, and won both of them, Majorca and Minorca. After that they fared to Sicily. And when they were come there then they heard great strife out of Micklegarth, and how heathen folk beleaguered the city both by sea and land. Then Kirjalax the tall was emperor, and had just come to power. That was some winters after the fall of king Harold, Godwin's son. But when the Englishmen heard of strife out of Micklegarth they looked for great advancement, for of a long time ere that the Northmen had very great honour who went into service there. Thence they held on east over the sea, and so north to Micklegarth, and came to the city in the night, but the stars gave some light. They ran into battle at once against those who lay on ship-board; and there arose the greatest fight, and those who lay before the city had much the greater host. But the Englishmen ran in so bravely that they got to board those ships that lay outermost and lay furthest from the land and the city walls, but they cleared each ship as they went on, and the crews were slain, though some jumped overboard. Some too jumped on board other ships, and so the flight fared from ship to ship till they had won all the ships that did not fly away. That folk which came to land ran to the tents, and said that an invincible host had come against which no wight could raise a shield. Then all who were in the tents sprang up, and no other plan was taken than that each fled as he stood with

They help the Emperor Kirjalax and win a great victory.

what he could lay hold of. But in the morning when it was light the folk of the city saw that all that host was gone which beleaguered the town; but that many ships had come and rigged altogether otherwise than those which had been there before. Then the men of the city sent men to the shipmen. And after that they had a meeting with the king, and he took wonderfully well to them, and thanked them for that great victory which they had won to give him peace and safety. They stayed a while in Micklegarth, and set the realm of the Greek-king free from strife. King Kirjalax offered them to abide there and guard his body, as was the wont of the Varangians who went into his pay, but it seemed to earl Sigurd and the other chiefs that it was too small a career to grow old there in that fashion, that they had not a realm to rule over; and they begged the king to give them some towns or cities which they might own and their heirs after them. But the king thought he could not strip other men of their estates. And when they came to talk of this, king Kirjalax tells them that he knew of a land lying north in the sea, which had lain of old under the emperor of Micklegarth, but in after days the heathen had won it and abode in it. And when the Englishmen heard that they took a title from king Kirjalax that that land should be their own and their heirs after them if they could get it won under them from the heathen men free from tax and toll. The king granted them this. After that the Englishmen fared away out of Micklegarth and north into the sea; but some chiefs stayed behind in Micklegarth, and went into service there.

They will not settle down in the Emperor's dominions, but fare north to win a new land.

Earl Sigurd and his men came to this land, and had many battles there, and got the land won, but drove away all the folk that abode there before. After that they took that land into possession, and gave it a name, and called it England. To the towns that were in the land and to those which they built they gave the names of the towns in England. They called them both London and York, and by the names of other great towns in

Earl Sigurd and his men win that land, and call it England, and name the towns after those in their old land.

England. They would not have St. Paul's law, which passes current in Micklegarth, but sought bishops and other clergymen in Hungary. The land lies six days' and nights' sail across the sea in the east and north-east from Micklegarth; and there is the best of land there; and that folk has abode there ever since. *Explicit.*

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Hacon broad-shoulders (Hákon herðibreiðr), king of Norway, Sigurd Harold's son; 183.
Hacon, foster child of Thorir of Steig; 374.
Hacon claw (Hákon kló), son of Bergliot and Hávard Gunni's son, 62; married Ingigerd, illegitimate daughter of Sigurd Snap-deacon and Audhild, the niece of Frakok, 85, 88.
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Harold Sigurd's son (Haraldr Sigurðarson), Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, wounded in the battle of Sticklestead, A.D. 1030, goes to Constantinople, 38; returns to Norway, 55; sails to Denmark, 57, 58; he fits out a host against England, A.D. 1066, 62; falls at the battle of Stamford bridge, 63; mentioned, 65, 69, 183, 241, 242, 246, 374, 385, 387, 392, 393, 394, 395, 400, 401, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 411, 423.

Harold, earl (Haraldr Maddaðarson), son of Maddad and Margaret, 132; has the title of earl, 138; he goes to Norway with Rognvald, 152; he has a ship named the Arrow, it is wrecked, and he returns home, 153; rules the Orkneys during Rognvald's absence, 162; strife in the Orkneys, 183; he is taken captive by king Eystein, 184; he gathers force, 185; Sweyn quarrels with him, fights with Sweyn, 186; attacked at Kjarrekstead (Knarstead), he has to give up his share of the islands, 188; he attacks earl Erlend, 189; he takes prisoners, 190; he goes to Shetland, 191; he fares to Norway, 194; he comes to Thurso, 195, 196; Erlend attacks him, but he escapes, 198. Rognvald meets him, 199; he slays Erlend, 201, 202; he wastes Sweyn's goods, 203, 204; he pursues Sweyn, 205, 206, 207; he goes to Shetland, 208; meets Sweyn and earl Rognvald at Saint Magnus' church, 210; makes friends with Sweyn, 211, 212; he journeys with Rognvald, 214; he comes up and finds him slain, 215; he pursues Thorbjorn clerk, 216; who makes a speech to him, 217; Harold springs across the dyke to him, 218; he buries earl Rognvald in Saint Magnus' church, 219; he has the sole rule of the Orkneys, 220; he goes to a feast with Sweyn, 221; his warning to Sweyn, 222; his wife and children, 224; he refuses to give up the realm to Harold the young, 225; he

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Harold the smooth-tongued (Haraldr slèttmáli), illegitimate son of Helga, and earl Hacon, 84; becomes earl, and has half the Orkneys, and slays Thorkell fosterer, 85; he dies from a poisoned shirt, 86, 87; mentioned, 88, 131.

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Havard the harvest happy (Hávardr ársæli), earl (son of Thorfinn), he is slain by Einar; 12, 13.
Havard's croft (Hávarðs-teigar), where earl Havard is slain; 13.
Havard Gunni's son (Hávardr Gunnason), married to Bergliot, 62, 64; friend of earl Hacon, 78, 145, 159, 225, 243, 284, 336, 347.
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Heiti, the sea king; 4, 334.
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Helga Moddan's daughter (Helga Moddansdóttir), Frakok's sister, mother of earl Harold smooth-tongue; 84, 87.
Helga, daughter of Harek of Sæter, mother of John Peter's son; 99.
Helga, daughter of Wolf, married to Helgi; 371.
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Helgeland (Háloga-land), a province in Northern Norway, extending along the coast from Naumdale northwards to the Malanger Fjord; 70.
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M.

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Magnus (Magnús), son of Thorljot and Steinvor; 84.

Magnus (Magnús), son of Eyvind; 119.

Magnus Mannikin (Magnús mangi), son of Eric staybrails and Ingigerd, daughter of earl Rognvald; 220, 225.

Magnus the blind (Magnús blindi), son of king Sigurd Jewryfarer, king of Norway; he fights with king Harold gilli, 107, 108.

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Nerbon, not Narbonne but on the river Nervion, a town in Spain; 163, 176.
Nereid (Nereiðr), sister of earl Sigurd married to earl Gilli; 349.
Ness (Nés), *i.e.*, Caithness, an abbreviated form; 14, 52, 146, 186, 189, 195, 196, 199, 200, 208, 227, 228, 345.
Nicholas, son of Thorberg, 374, 375; strives in swimming with Heming, 381, 383; has a stewardship in Helgoland, 396; mentioned, 403; he is shot, 409.
Nicholas, a pope; 420.
Nidaros (Níðar-óss), mouth of R. Niðr, the present Dronthëim in Norway: 40, 286.
Niflungs; 333.

Njal, his Saga, 344; his sons mentioned, 345, 347, 348, 349, 350; the burning mentioned, 353, 365; his Saga mentioned, 367.

Njorfa-sund, or Nörfa-sund, the "Narrow Strait," the Gut of Gibraltar; 171, 172.

Nörr (Nór), the mythical hero, son of Thorri he searches for his sister Goi, 1; he finds a new land, which from his name is called Norway, 2; he meets Gorr but not Goi. 3; he finds out where she is. He is ancestor of earl Rognvald the mighty, 4, 333, 334, 335.

Nora firth (Nóra-fjörðr), a fjord in Sogn in Norway; 3, 334.

Normandy (Normandi); 4, 364, 416, 417.

Norns, the (Nornir); 9.

Northmen (Norðmenn), Norsemen, Norwegians, 11, 30; they take Magnus for their king, 39; many of them fall in battle, 63, 65; they attack Godfrey's castle, 167, 168; they fight with the Saracens, 174, 176, 235, 340, 426.

Northumberland (Norðymbra-land), 10, 11; earl Rognvald sails by it, 163, 387.

Norvagia or Norvegia, Latin name for Norway in the legend of Saint Magnus.

Norway (Noregr), the origin of Norway from king Nor's travels, 3; the Vikings harry there, 5; Hallad returns to Norway, 6; king Harold fares thither, 9, 10; Olaf carries off earl Sigurd's son to Norway, 16; men of might come thither from the Orkneys, 20; and earl Thorfinn, 21; Thorkel flies thither, 22; voyage of the earl to Norway, 23; earl Thorfinn fares thither, 25; Canute rules the country, 30; Magnus chosen as king, 39, 40; Rognvald fares to Norway, 47; he leaves, but returns, 49, 50, 51, 54; Harold Sigurd's son has half the land, 55; he has it all, 57, 58; he leaves it, 62; Olaf and Magnus, kings, 63; earl Hacon fares thither, 64; he leaves it and returns, 66, 68; Paul and Erlend

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sent prisoners to Norway, 69; king Sigurd is king with Eystein and Olaf, 74, 75; bishop William fares to Norway, 90; Gillichrist asks about the country, 97, 98, 100; Harold and Magnus kings, 108, 109, 110; Rognvald returns to Norway, 114, 122, 123, 130, 151; king Harold Gilli's sons kings, 152; earl Rognvald fares to Norway to look after his fleet, 159; a ship built there for Eindrid, 161; it is not finished, 163; Rognvald returns to Norway, 182; king Eystein leaves it, and returns, 184; Erlend comes to him, 185, 186; Harold comes also, 194; he leaves it, 195; the sons of Eric staybrails fare thither, 225; Olaf goes to Norway to fight, 231; earl Hacon the silly dies in Norway, 231; king Sverrir there, 235; the earls of Orkney come thither, 236; mentioned, 239; Harold Sigurd's son king there, 241, 242; Hacon fares there, 244, 246, 247; Paul and Erlend sent there, 248; king Magnus barelegs rules there, 250; his sons rule, 251; Hacon Paul's son comes there, 252, 253; Sigurd Eystein and Olaf kings together, 268; Harold Gilli there, 279; king Magnus barelegs there, 286; his sons kings, 286, 287; bishop William sails thither, 294; how Norway was inhabited, 333, 334, 335; Rognvald Brusi's son flies thither, 338; Erling goes there, 341; king Eystein returns to Norway, 343; Njal's sons go thither, 348; Kolbein sails thither, 364, 365; Thorstein fares thither, 368; Harold Sigurd's son rules there, 374; mentioned, 384; the weather drives Odd Ofeig's son there, 387; Tosti comes there, 393; king Harold Hardrada calls forth a host thence, 395; mentioned, 398, 402, 405, 418; Tosti goes thither, 423, 424.

Norwegians (Norðmenn); 335, 401, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 416.

Novgorod in Russia (Holm-garðr?); 374.

O.

Oddi the little (Oddi litli), Glum's son, an Icelandic skald, he makes verses, 158; he is captain of a ship, 159; he sings a song, 165, 171, 178.

Odd Ofeig's son, an Icelander; 374, 380, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387.

Odin (Wodan, Óðinn), offering to him by Einar, 9; mentioned by earl Rognvald in his song, 154, 155, 157, 407.

Odlings; 333.

Œnund (Onund), king of Sweden; 38.

Ofeig (Ófeigr), banner bearer to earl Hacon; 267.

Ogmund (Ögmund), son of Thorfinn, 202; he is slightly wounded; 203.

Ögmund, a Shetlander, called Asmund in the Magnus Saga, made whole by Saint Magnus' shrine; 94, 297.

Ögmund, the son of Skopti, a vassal of king Magnus barelegs; 69.

Ögmund the brave (Ögmundr drengr), son of Kyrping-Orm, and brother of Erling, 103; he counsels king Ingi to invite earl Rognvald to Norway, 152; he dies, 182; his daughter Ragnhild marries, 186.

Oikel (Ekkjal ?), river in North Scotland; 35.

Olaf, Saint (Ólafr Haraldsson), king of Norway, called during his lifetime "hinn digri" or "the stout," because he was "thick-set," Thorkel is sent to Olaf by earl Thorfinn, 20, 21; earl Brusi comes to king Olaf, 23; earl Thorfinn follows, 25, 26; Olaf utters his award, 27, 28; his speech, 29; he is driven out of Norway by king Canute, 30; he falls at the battle of Sticklestead, called saint, 37; he is mentioned, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45; mentioned, 239, 241, 268, 300, 375, 385, 395, 397, 405, 407.

Olaf, Rolf's son (Ólafr Hrólfsson), of Gairsey, father of Sweyn Asleif's son and Waltheof, 88, 89; he has a ship, 112; he clears three of Oliver's ships, 113; he has the wardship of Duncansby, 115; he is burnt in his house by Oliver the unruly, 116; mentioned, 119, 120, 138, 139.

Olaf, Rolf's son—*cont.*

Olaf, king of Norway (Ólafr Magnús son), A.D. 1103, son of king Magnus barelegs, joint king with his brothers Sigurd and Eystein; 74, 82, 251, 287.

Olaf (Ólafr Sveinsson), son of Sweyn Asleif's son and Ragnhild, 186; taken captive by John wing, set free by Rognvald, 209; he inherits from Sweyn, 224.

Olaf Tryggvi's son (Ólafr Tryggvason), king of Norway; his speech to convert earl Sigurd to Christianity, 15; who is baptized and becomes king Olaf's vassal, 16; mentioned, 24, 241, 335, 337, 338, 413.

Olaf bitling (Ólafr bitlingr), king of the Southern Isles, married to Ingibjorg, daughter of earl Hacon; 84, 213.

Olaf, the Swede king; 395.

Olaf the white (Ólafr hvíti), king of Dublin, father of Thorstein the red; 5.

Olaf, called earl Harold's mágr; 230, fell at the battle of Floruvoe, 231.

Olaf the quiet (Ólafr kyrri), son of Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, 64, 66, 69, 241, 242, 244, 400; called "good-will" by a ghost, 400; is allowed to leave England after his father's death, 410.

Olaf Kettle's son; 344, 345.

Olaf, a sub-king in Northumberland ? 11.

Oliver the unruly (Ölvir rósta), son of Thorljot in Rackwick, and Steinvor the stout, 84; reared in Sutherland with his grandmother Frakok; a tall, strong, quarrelsome man, 87; earl Rognvald offers him half the realm if he will join him, 109, 110; he gathers a large force with Frakok, and fights against earl Paul, 111; he boards earl Paul's ship, and knocks him down, 112; Oliver is hurled overboard, but is picked up,

Oliver the unruly—*cont.*
113; comes to Duncansby, burns Olaf Hrolf's son's house, 116; Sweyn Asleif's son fights with Oliver, 139; he escapes to the Southern Isles, and is heard of no more, 140.
Orfir (Örrjara), a parish on the mainland in Orkney; 86, 115, 116, 117, 120, 198, 199.
Orkahow (Orka-haugr), now the "Mæshow" (*see* the Geographical Introduction); 190.
Orkney earls (Orkneyinga-jarlar); 54, 59, 107.
Orkneyingers (Orkneyíngar), they have their allodial lands given back to them 10; they will only serve Thorfinn, 13; Sigurd gives them their allodial rights, 15; they have peace and quiet, 68; Hrossey their place of meeting, 77; they wish for earl Hacon as their chief, 84; they show great feud towards earl Rognvald, 123; they do not agree with the Easterlings, 160, 162; they accompany Rognvald, 168; a few go with Harold, 189; the Dublin men are afraid of them, 223; Bjarni bishop of them, 224; the mightiest of their earls, 231, 233, 241, 246, 261, 272, 288, 294, 336.
Orkneymen; 149, 276, 299,
Orkneys (Orkn-eyjar), they are given to earl Rognvald by king Harold, who gives them to Sigurd, 5; Einar comes thither as earl, 7; Halfdan turns Einar out of the Orkneys, but is slain by Einar, 8; Einar rules a long time in the Orkneys 10; queen Gunnhilda rules there, 11; Olaf Tryggvi's son sails thither, 15; the people baptised and made Christians, 16; Thorfinn claims a share in the realm, 17; many men leave the islands because Einar is so overbearing, 19; Thorfinn owns the Orkneys, 20; Tkorkel comes thither with Thorfinn, 21; king Olaf mentions the Orkneys, 24, 28; Brusi comes thither, 29; Thorkel leaves the Orkneys, 31, 32; Thorfinn kept his
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body guard in the Orkneys with meat and drink all the winter, 37; Rognvald Brusi's son claims part of the islands, 40; he has two lots of the isles, 41; Thorfinn comes thither, 42; returns again after being in England, 43, 45; Rognvald fares thither, 47; mentioned, 50; Rognvald, after being in Norway, returns to the Orkneys, and is slain, 51; Thorfinn still rules, 57, 58; the first bishopric, 59; the great men of the Orkneys, 62; Paul and Erlend rule there, 63, 67, 68; king Magnus comes thither, 69, 73; Kol Kali's son gets some possessions there, 74; Hacon Paul's son has the Orkneys, 75; Magnus Erlend's son has half; earl Hacon wishes to rule alone, 78; Magnus offers not to come back to the Orkneys, and is slain, 80, 82; William, bishop in the Orkneys, 83; Hacon rules there, 84; Sigurd fares thither, 85; he fares away, 86; Paul is ruler, 87, 88; the bishopric, 89; cripples from there to whom Saint Magnus appears, 90; the noble men of the Orkneys, 91; Thorkel of Orkney, 93; a man thence robs Saint Magnus's shrine, 94; mentioned, 96; crowd of men thence, 97; Kali Kol's son, now called earl Rognvald, after Rognvald Brúsi's son, has half the Orkneys, 106, 107, 108, 109; Olivir the unruly expects half, 110, 111; Paul fares thither, 114, 115, 121, 123; Kol fares thither, 124; Rognvald comes thither, 128; Erlend wants to get back the Orkneys, 131; Sweyn Asleif's son fares thither, 132; Paul never returns to them, 133, 135; all the Orkneys follow Rognvald, 136, 137; Harold Maddad's son is to have half, 138; he comes thither, 139; Sweyn returns to, 140; a vessel from Iceland arrives, 144; Thorbjorn fares to the Orkneys, 146; king David offers to send to fetch Sweyn's wife from the Orkneys, 150; Thorbjorn fares thither, 151; earl Rognvald rules, 157; he leaves for Nor-

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way, 159; he returns, 160; Arni fares thither, 161; sails away, 163; mentioned 170, 178; what happened in the Orkneys whilst Rognvald was away, 183, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192; Rognvald returns, 194; Harold comes thither, 195; they seek for Erlend there 196; Sweyn comes to the Orkneys, 197, 198; Harold comes thither, 208; also Sweyn, 209; earl Harold, 210; and Thorbjorn and Eric, 211, 212; earl Rognvald's body is brought thither, 219; Sweyn's great hall in, 220; his men come back to the Orkneys, 221; Harold rules, 224; Harold the young claims half, 226, 237; Harold the old rules, 228, 230; John is earl of the Orkneys, 231, 235, 236, 239; Magnus born there, 241; Paul and Erlend earls there, 242, 243, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251; Hacon Paul's son rules, 251, 252; Saint Magnus, rules with him, 253, 258, 259, 266, 269; Hacon alone, 271, 272, 274, 277; Paul and Erlend rule there, 283; king Magnus barelegs comes there, 284, 286; Hacon and Magnus Erlend's son joint earls, 287, 288, 291; William bishop there, 293; people come from there to Saint Magnus' relics, 294, 295, 296; earl Rognvald Kali's son rules there, 299; king Harold fair-hair won the Orkneys, 335; mentioned in king Olaf's speech, 336, 337; Rognvald's Brusi's son earl there, 338; he sails from there, 340; mentioned in Njal's Saga, 344, 346, 349, 350; king Sigtrygg comes there, 352, 353; Sigurd Hlodvir's son leaves the Orkneys, 356; signs and portents there, 362; Thorstein fares thither, 366; Burning Flosi comes there, 367; Thorstein returns there, 368; earl Sigurd Hlodvir's son rules there, 369, 371, 373; Odd Ofeig's son fares there, 386; king Harold sails thither before coming to England, 400.

Orm (Ormr), son of Thorljot in Rackwick and Steinvor the fat; 84.

Orm, a man who boarded earl Erlend's ship; 201.

Orrida-firth (Örriða-fjördr), Firth in the Mainland; 117, 119.

Oslo (Osló), the present Christiania in Norway; 107.

Osmund's voe (Ásmundar-vágr), the present Osmondswall or "Long-hope" in Orkney off South Ronaldsey; 335.

Ospak, a viking, 354; his character, 355; he quarrels with his brother Brodir, 356; he is in Brian's battle, 357; he is wounded, 358; kills king Brian, 367.

Ospak, son of Thordis; 62, 241, 283.

Ottar or Otter, earl in Thurso, brother of Frakok, 85; Sweyn Asleif's son comes to see him, 130; his death, 184; he is mentioned, 187.

Otti, Birgir's son, the Welsh champion 389.

Ouse (Úsa); 401.

Oykel-bank (Ekkjals-hakki), or Strath-oykel? earl Sigurd buried there, 6; Sweyn passes by there, 132, 139.

Ozur son of Hrollaug; 366.

P.

Palm Sunday; 289, 354, 356, 357.

Papay, probably the greater Papey; 121.

Papey the little (Pap-ey minni); 53.

Papey he great (Pap-ey meiri); 54.

Paplay (Papuli). There seems to have been two estates of the name in the Orkneys, one on the Mainland and the other in South Ronaldsey; 74, 75, 120, 253, 271, 286, 287.

Paris; 159.

Paul, earl, the first, of Orkney (Páll Þorfinnsson), A.D. 1064, Thorfinn's son, rules over the Orkneys with Erlend, and marries earl Hacon Ivar's son's daughter, 61; has children, 62; he has little to do with ruling, 68; he is taken prisoner to Norway, 69; he dies

Paul, earl—*cont.*
and is buried in Bergen, 74, mentioned 241, 242, 243, 246, 248, 250, 283, 284, 286.

Paul, earl, the second (Páll jarl Hákonarson úmálgi), called hold-tongue (the mute), son of earl Hacon by Helga ? 84; takes half the realm on the death of his father, 85; he keeps the Yule feast with his brother Harold; Frakok tries to poison him, 86; he banishes Helga and Frakok; he rules alone, 87, 88; his friends and chieftains, 89; the believers in Saint Magnus's halidom wish Paul to inquire into it, 90; he disbelieves, 91; he is told of the wonders, 92; Kali Kol's son has the grant of half the Orkneys with him, 106; messengers are sent to Paul, 109; he refuses to share the realm with Rognvald-Kali, 110; he is in Rowsay, 111; he goes against Rognvald, 112; he fights with Oliver the unruly, takes five of his ships, 113; he fares to Shetland and back to the Orkneys, 114; he has a Yule feast, 115; many noblemen come and Sweyn Asleif's son, 116; Paul gives him a place of honour, 117; he hears of the slaying of Sweyn breastrope, 120; he fares up and down the islands, 121; he sees to the beacons, 122; Rognvald hears of his preparations, 123; Paul is looked for, 125; Eric finds him, 127; Paul holds a Thing, 128, 129, 130; he goes to a feast in Sigurd's house, 131; Sweyn Asleif's son takes him captive and carries him to Athole, his sister Margaret and earl Maddad welcome him, 132; his speech, 133; he is missing, no news of him, 134; the bishop complains of him, 135; Rognvald becomes sole earl when he is gone, 136, 294.

Paul's-church (Páls-kirkja), St. Paul's in London; 423.

Pentland Firth (Pettlands-fjörðr), Thorfinn sails into it, 32; earl Rognvald sails to it with thirty large ships, 47; mentioned by Arnor, 49; Swoney, an island in it, 89; a man lost in it who had stolen gold from Saint Magnus' shrine, 94; messengers to Paul to go back by it to Sutherland, 109; long ships seen faring on it, 113; Sweyn Asleif's son fares thither, 116, 131; a ship is seen on it by earl Rognvald, 137; Sweyn sees a ship on it, 186; Rognvald sails on it, 196; Lifolf sent over it, 226, 276, 299; not passable, 335; men sent across it, 347.

Perth (Parta); 343.

Peter from Hvin, (Bunu Pétr or Hvinu Petr), a county in Agdir, in Norway, Peter, called down at heel, brother John wing the younger; 208.

Peter Sark's son (Pétr Serksson), of Sogn, father of John; 99.

Peter stouper (Petr Steypir), a Norse chief and crusader.

Philip; 236.

Pilawick, battle fought there, a port in England; 343.

Pope the Pascal; 268, 273, 364, 420.

Poule (Púl) or Apulia, in Italy; 182.

R.

Rackwick (Reka-vík), a place in Hoy and another in Westrey; 84.

Rafn, the law-man (Rafn lögmaðr); 228, 232, 233.

Ragna (Ragna), a noble housewife, who dwelt in Rinansey, mother of Thorstein, 89; earl Paul comes to a feast at her house, and she advises him to pardon Sweyn Asleif's son, 121; Hall from Iceland comes to her house, 144; Ragna goes to see earl Rognvald, and gets him to take Hall into his service, 145.

Ragnhild, a cripple cured by Saint Magnus; 278.

Ragnhilda (Ragnhildr), daughter of Rolf bottle-nose or nosy, wife of earl Rognvald the mighty mother of Ganger-Rolf; 4.

Ragnhilda, daughter of king Eric bloody-axe, and queen Gunnhilda, wife of earl Arnfinn, 11; she causes his death, marries his brother Havard, and persuades Einar oily-tongue to slay Havard, 12; then breaks faith with him, and persuades Einar hardchaft to slay Einar oily tongue, when he has done so she breaks faith with him, and weds Ljot, another brother-in-law, 13; king Olaf says how much mischief she has done, 336.

Ragnhilda, the fourth daughter of earl Paul, mother of Benedict, 62; mentioned, 88.

Ragnhilda, daughter of king Magnus the good, wife of Hacon Ivar's son (earl); 63, 241, 243, 283.

Ragnhilda, daughter of Ogmund, the first wife of Sweyn Asleif's son, mother of Olaf; 186.

Ragnhilda, daughter of Olaf bitling and of Ingibjorg, the daughter of earl Hacon Paul's son, wife of Summerled; 213.

Ragnhilda, daughter of Summerled and Ragnhilda.

Ragnhilda, daughter Erlîng Skjalg's son; 374.

Ragnhilda, daughter of Eric stay-brails and Ingigerd, earl Rognvald's daughter; 220.

Ragnhilda, wife of Lifolf; 225.

Ragnhilda, mother of earl Worm; 340.

Ragnhilda, Thorbjorn clerk's sister, wife of Hosvir; 212.

Ran (Rán), the giantess, mistress of the sea, 165 (in a verse).

Rapness (Hreppisnes); 89, 209.

Ravensaire or Ravenspurg (Hrafns-eyr), place in North England, at the mouth of the Humber; 33, 410.

Red Head (Rauðu-björg), Dunnet Head (or Rattar-Brough Anderson), in the Pentland Firth, a fight off it; 47.

Reider messenger (Hreiðarr-sendimaðr), a Norse chief and crusader; 234, 235.

Rendale in Hrossey (Renna-dalr); 202.

Reyrir, place in Norway; 183.

Richard of the Brink (Ríkarðr í Brekkum), in Stronsay, kinsman of Sweyn Asleif's son, and brother of John wing, the elder, 89; together they burn Thorkel flayer, 130.

Richard, a priest who dwelt in Alvidra; 101.

Richard duke of Normandy; 416.

Richard, Thorleif's son; 145.

Rinansey (Rínans-ey), North Ronaldsey, 8; where Ragna and her son Thorstein dwelt, 89; a beacon built there, 115; Paul comes thither to Ragna, 121; the beacon there is seen, 122; it is lighted, 125, 126; Hall comes there to live with Ragna, 144, 359.

Robert of Normandy, called Diabolus, father of William the Conqueror; 388, 389, 416.

Robert (Hrodbjartr), a freeman from Wales; 140.

Robert, Master, wrote the life of Saint Magnus in Latin, from some expressions in it, it is plain that he was an Orkneyinger; 239, 268, 270.

Rognvald (Rögnvaldr Mæra-jarl hinn ríki), earl of Mæren, called the mighty and the wise, springs from Gorr, 4; king Harold gives him Shetland and the Orkneys, which he gives to his brother Sigurd, 5; he sends his son Einar to fight the Vikings, 6, 7; Rognvald is slain by king Harold's sons, 8, 335, 336.

Rognvald, earl Brusi's son (Rögnvaldr Brúsason), 23; when he is ten winters old he goes with his father to king St. Olaf to Norway, 23; he is left with the king, 29; he fights at Sticklestead, and goes to Russia, he is a gifted man in mind and body, 37; he fares back to Norway, 38, 39; after the death of his father he returns to the Orkneys, 40; he has two lots of the islands, and becomes Thorfinn's friend, 41; they go a roving for eight years, 42; they war in England, A.D. 1041, 43, 44; they quarrel, 45; Rognvald flies to king Magnus, who gives him help, 46; he has a sea fight off the Red Head with

Rognvald, earl Brusi's son—*cont.*
Thorfinn, 47, 48, 49; he is defeated, and flies to Norway, 50; he returns to Shetland, 51; he surprises Thorfinn and burns his house over him, 52; he goes from Kirkwall to the Little Papey, 53; Thorfinn surprises him there, and he is slain by Thorkel, A.D. 1045, his death is a great grief to the people at large, he is buried at Great Papey, 54; songs on his exploits, 60; Kali Kol's son is named after him, 106, 338, 339.

Rognvald-Kali (Rögnvaldr-Kali), son of Kol and Gunnhilda, changes his name from Kali (*see* Kali Kol's son), 106; he stands by king Harold Gilli against king Magnus, 107, 108; he sends messengers to Paul offering to share the Orkneys with him, 109; Paul refuses, Rognvald sends messengers to Frakok, 110; he fares to Shetland, 111; Paul goes against him, 111; his ships are surprised and taken by Paul, 112; Rognvald and his men go to Norway in merchants' ships, 114, 115; Thorkell is afraid of his return, 121; Rognvald makes ready during the winter for his voyage west, 122; he holds a House Thing at Herne and makes a speech, 123; his doings are spoken of, 125; he lands in Westrey, 127; and lays the whole island under him, 128; he has spies at earl Paul's Thing, and begs the bishop to mediate, 129; they have half a month's truce, and Rognvald sends his Norse levies home, 130; Margaret offers him the choice of her son earl Harold or earl Paul to rule with him, 132; he is accused of betraying Paul, he holds a Thing at Kirkwall, 134; Sweyn tells him his story, 135; Rognvald becomes sole chief when Paul disappears, 136; the bishops come to him, 137; he accepts Harold Maddad's son to rule with him, 138; Sweyn comes to talk with him, 139; Rognvald gives him a force, 140; he goes to Caithness, 143; then to Gairsey, 144; Ragna

Rognvald-Kali—*cont.*
comes to see him and asks him to take the Icelander Hall into his service, 145; Thorbjorn clerk looks for him, his speech to Thorbjorn, 146; he besieges Sweyn in Lambburg, 147; he blockades the burg, 148, 149; he takes Lambburg, 150; Thorbjorn comes to him, 151; Rognvald goes to Norway, 152; he is persuaded to go to the Holy Land, 153; his ships are dashed to pieces, he is saved, 154; he makes verses and sings, 155; the earl in disguise, 156, 157; he is laid hold of by a madman, 158; he asks the bishop to go with him to Jerusalem; he goes back to Norway, 159; Eindrid the young keeps them waiting, Rognvald predicts ill-luck to him, 160; Rognvald makes peace with Arni's next of kin, 162; he holds a Thing, A.D. 1151; gives over the realm to Harold while he is away, 163; he sails along France and Spain, to Nerbon, 163; Queen Ermingard makes him a feast, 164; the townspeople wish him to marry her, he sails away, 165; he comes to Galicia, 166; attacks a tyrant's castle, 167; Godfrey the tyrant makes a bargain with Eindrid, who betrays Rognvald, 168; he storms the castle, and sings, 169; he takes the castle and sails to Spain, 170; through the Gut of Gibraltar, 171; along the Barbary coast, 172; he fights against the Dromond, 173, 174, 175; most of the Saracens are slain, 176; they burn the ship, 177; he sails under Crete, 178; they fare to Jewry, they bathe in the Jordan, 179; they leave the Holy Land and come to Imbolar, 180; he sails to Constantinople and is well received by the emperor Manuel, 181; he sails to Apulia and comes back by way of Rome to Norway overland, 182; he hears that there is strife in the Orkneys, so he stays there, 183; what happened whilst he was away, 184, 185, 189; he returns to his realm A.D. 1153, and makes friends with earl

Rognvald-Kali—*cont.*
Erlend, 194; he is in Sutherland, 195; marries his daughter to Eric stay-brails, he meets Harold at Thurso, 195; he has doubt, 196; he bids his men be wary, 197; he leaves his ship and spends the night at Knarrstead, with Botolf, 198; Sweyn searches for him; Rognvald flies over to the Ness, and Sweyn sends him the treasure he has taken, 199, 200; Rognvald attacks earl Erlend, who is slain, 201; he sets Sweyn and Harold at one again, 203; he meets Sweyn, 204; they have a truce, 207; Rognvald obtains the release of Sweyn's son Olaf, 209; he goes to Saint Magnus's church to make an atonement, 210; he and Sweyn are friends, 211; he outlaws Thorbjorn clerk, 212; he asks Sweyn to look out for Gilli Odran, 213; he goes to Calfdale to Hoskuld's house, 214; he is slain by Thorbjorn clerk, August 20, A.D. 1159, 215, 216; Magnus Havard's son says he must be avenged by Harold, 217; he is buried in Saint Magnus's church, 219; he is called a saint by Sweyn, 223; he is mentioned, 225, 227, 231, 241, 251, 283, 299, 340, 341.

Rognvald (Rögnvaldr), son of Eric staybrails and Ingigerd, grandson of earl Rognvald, 220; he goes to Norway with his brothers, 470.

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Svidrir's sound (Sviðris-sund), *i.e.* Gut of Gibraltar, also Njörfasund; 172.
Svolder (Svoldr), a battle there; 16.
Swanlauga (Svanlaug otherwise Hvarflöð), earl Sigurd's sister; 351.

Swedish skerries (Svía-sker), the skerries at the mouth of the Mälar Lake in Sweden; 1.

Swelg (Svelgr), "The Svelchie," a whirlpool in the Pentland Firth, off Stromey, 132.

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Sweyn (Sveinn Blót-Sveinn), Sacrifice-Sweyn, *i.e.*, Sweyn the apostate, chosen as king of Sweden in opposition to king Ingi, he is slain; 65.

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Sweyn Blakari's son (Sveinn Blakara-son), a friend and adviser of Sweyn Asleif's son; 204.

Sweyn Olaf's and Asleif's son (Sveinn Asleifar-son), the famous viking usually designated by his mother's name, 88; he goes out to fish, 116; he goes to earl Paul at Orfir, he has a seat of honour, 117; he quarrels with Sweyn breastrope, 118; slays him and escapes and the bishop shelters him, 119; he is made an outlaw by earl Paul, 120; whom Ragna advises to pardon Sweyn, 121; Sweyn visits Maddad earl of Athole and Margaret, 130; he takes Paul captive and carries him off to Athole to Maddad, 131, 132; Sweyn fares back to the Orkneys, it is said that he blinded Paul, 133; he comes to a Thing, 134; he tells his story to earl Rognvald, who grants him peace and becomes his friend, 135, 136; he is a mighty chief, and takes all his father's estates, 138; he takes Oliver the unruly unawares, 139; Frakok is burnt and Rognvald gives Sweyn a force, 140; he fares to the Southern isles, 141; he fights with Hornbodi or Holdbodi, he puts him to flight, 142; Sweyn goes

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Sweyn Hroald's son (Sveinn Hroáldsson), of Wick, the briskest of men, he becomes earl Rognvald's waiting man, 143; he accompanies him to Lambburg, 147; and afterwards to Norway, 159; he has a ship, 163; he wishes to avenge earl Rognvald, 218.

Sweyn Sweyn's son (Sveinn Sveins-son), son of Sweyn Asleif's son; 340.
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Thora (Þóra), daughter of Summerled, wife of Erlend, mother of Saint Magnus, 62; she begs the body of her son from Hacon, 82, 241; married to Sigurd lived in Paplay, 253; mentioned 271, 283, 292.
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Thorarin (cod-nose) (Þórarinn kyllinef), one of earl Rognvald's body guard, 211; Thorbjorn clerk kills him, 212.
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Thorbjorn (Þorbjörn), a nobleman who was put to death in Burra firth in Shetland by earls Hacon and Magnus; 76, 288.
Thorbjorn (Þorbjörn), a cripple who watched by the tomb of Saint Magnus; 90.
Thorbjorn Olaf's son, a madman cured by Saint Magnus; 275, 298.
Thorbjorn (Þorbjörn Gyrðsson), son of Gurth, a madman cured by Saint Magnus; 93.
Thorbjorn clerk (Þorbjörn klerkr), son of Thorstein the freeman and Gudrun Frakok's daughter, 84; Frakok rears him, 87; he marries Sweyn's sister Ingigerd, 138, 139; he comes to tell earl Rognvald that his father Thorstein is slain, he has a feud with Sweyn, 143; it is made up, he goes on an expedition with Sweyn, and quarrels, 145; sends his wife away to her brother Sweyn, 146; he joins Rognvald, 148 he is sent south and avenges his father on earl Waltheof, 151; he helps to rule the Orkneys with earl Harold when Rognvald goes to Palestine, 163; his wife given to Thorfinn Brusi's son, 187; he is with Harold, 190; he has a brawl, 196; he goes to Paplay and marries another Ingigerd, Hacon Churl's daughter, 198; he

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Thorbjorn the swarthy (Þorbjörn svarti), a skald of earl Rognvald, 159; he dies, 178, 340.

Thord, son of Skopti, a vassal of king Magnus barelegs; 69.

Thord, son of Helga Njal's daughter, burnt in Njal's house; 365.

Thord dragon-shot or beak (Þórðr drekaskoltr), a man from Shetland who became mad from working on the eve of Saint Magnus day, he got sound when a vow was made to Saint Magnus; 93, 94, 275, 276, 297.

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   The first volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of St. Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers. The second volume contains materials found since the first volume was published.

5. Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico. Ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Walden, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work gives the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards.

6. The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by William Stewart. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version.

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8. Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* Charles Hardwick, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191.

9. Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis): Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. Haydon, B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of Malmesbury, about the year 1367. A continuation carries the history of England down to the year 1413.

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The *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

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The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. His work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards, and it has great value for the philologist.

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These annals, which are in Latin, commenced in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster.

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There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography.

24. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* James Gairdner. 1861–1863.

The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

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The letters of Robert Grosseteste range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066–1200. Vol. III.; 1200–1327. *By* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1862–1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which original portions are distinguished from mere compilations. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. Vol. I., 1216–1235. Vol. II., 1236–1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862–1866.

28. Chronica Monasterii S. Albani.—1. Thomæ Walsingham Historia Anglicana; Vol. I., 1272–1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. 2. Willelmi Rishanger Chronica et Annales, 1259–1307. 3. Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde Chronica et Annales, 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. 4. Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, a Thoma Walsingham, regnante Ricardo Secundo, ejusdem Ecclesiæ Præcentore, compilata; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349: Vol. III., 1349–1411. 5. Johannis Amundesham, Monachi Monasterii S. Albani, ut videtur, Annales; Vols. I. and II. 6. Registra quorundam Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, qui Sæculo XV^mo^ floruere; Vol. I., Registrum Abbatiæ Johannis Whethamstede, Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Albani, iterum susceptæ; Roberto Blakeney, Capellano, quondam adscriptum: Vol. II., Registra Johannis Whethamstede, Willelmi Albon, et Willelmi Walingforde, Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, cum Appendice, continente quasdam Epistolas, a Johanne Whethamstede Conscriptas. 7. Ypodigma Neustriæ a Thoma Walsingham, quondam Monacho Monasterii S. Albani, conscriptum. *Edited by* Henry Thomas Riley, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans.

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The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham: with a Continuation.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V.

29. Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis, Auctoribus Dominico Priore Eveshamiæ et Thoma de Marleberge Abbate, a Fundatione ad Annum 1213, una cum Continuatione ad Annum 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. Macray, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from about 690 to 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history.

30. Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ. Vol. I., 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

Richard of Cirencester's history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. It gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book ii. c. 3.

31. Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, 32–33, and 33–35 Edw. I; and 11–12 Edw. III. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Barrister-at-Law. Years 12–13, 13–14, 14, 14–15, and 15, Edward III. *Edited and translated by* Luke Owen Pike, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1891.

The "Year Books" are the earliest of our Law Reports. They contain matter not only of practical utility to lawyers in the present day, but also illustrative of almost every branch of history, while for certain philological purposes they hold a position absolutely unique.

32. Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy, 1449–1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. 1863.

33. Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriæ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. Hart, F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

34. Alexandri Neckam de Naturis Rerum libri duo; with Neckam's Poem, De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, M.A. 1863.

In the *De Naturis Rerum* are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century.

35. Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. Oswald Cockayne, M.A. 1864–1866.

36. Annales Monastici. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V.:—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection embraces chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432.

37. Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work is valuable, not only as a biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs.

38. Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard the First. Vol. I.:—Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi. Vol. II.:—Epistolæ Cantuarienses; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* the Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London.

In letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury.

39. Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne a present nomme Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. *Edited by* William Hardy, F.S.A. 1864–1879. Vol. IV., 1431–1447. Vol. V., 1447–1471. *Edited by* Sir William Hardy, F.S.A., and Edward L. C. P. Hardy, F.S.A. 1884–1891.

40. A Collection of the Chronicles and ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England, by John de Waurin. Vol. I., Albina to 668. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. (Translations of the preceding Vols. I., II., and III.) *Edited and translated by* Sir William Hardy, F.S.A., and Edward L. C. P. Hardy, F.S.A. 1864–1891.

41. Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III.–IX. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1886.

This chronicle begins with the creation, and is brought down to the reign of Edward III. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth.

42. Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie e Le Livere de Reis de Engletere. *Edited by* the Rev. John Glover, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treaties are valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians. Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonised French.

43. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa ab anno 1150 usque ad annum 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* Edward Augustus Bond, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country.

44. Matthæ Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir Frederick Madden, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of British Museum. 1866–1869.

45. Liber Monasterii de Hyda: a Chronicle and Chartulary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, 455–1023. *Edited by* Edward Edwards. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde

Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify the statements, which, in substance, he adopts.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and mediæval English.

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It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum;" in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, to the death of Henry III.; in the third, a history of the reign of Edward I. The language is a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

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